

I was a pawn of the CIA  
—Edgar Chamorro  
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# The war against Greenpeace



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# Citizen groups seek effective national politics

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

Can the left take advantage of eventual disillusionment with failures of Ronald Reagan and the right, capture the soul and machine of the Democratic Party and lead a cheering popular majority to victory in the years ahead? Such hopes probably keep many an otherwise demoralized political organizer battling in the trenches these days. For at least a dozen years, Heather Booth, founder of the Midwest Academy, an organizer training school that is also the central node of a group of statewide community and labor organizations, has prophesied some new citizen upsurge. When she started, she recently recalled, she saw Saul Alinsky-style blue-collar community groups as the vehicle, and the Academy usually advised against coalitions or electoral politics.

Times and thoughts changed. Since then one of the major activities of Citizen Action, the national federation of statewide groups, has been the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, and the Academy has promoted ever broader coalitions. The citizen pressure groups have also plunged into electoral politics. Despite some of their own organizers' predictions that the groups they formed—such as Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC), Connecticut Citizens Action Group (CCAG), Massachusetts Fair Share, Minnesota COACT and Illinois Public Action Council (IPAC)—had limited life spans of five years or so, the groups have become well established. They have suffered financially as federal funds, such as VISTA grants, dried up under Reagan, but despite Citizen Action's decision not to expand two years ago, other groups have since sprouted up and sought to affiliate. The groups' leaders were distressed to discover many of their members voted for Reagan. But members have stuck with them on many issues—stopping utility shut-offs, rate hikes or nuclear plants, limiting farm foreclosures, cleaning up toxic dumps or winning community right-to-know toxics legislation.

Their national energy lobbying won few clear victories and has now faded as a focus, but they have been a major force for a bigger, tougher Superfund environmental clean-up. They have propelled a few of their own leaders into local office—the Cleveland city council, the Connecticut legislature—and played key roles in the victories of liberals such as Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin, Illinois Rep. Lane Evans and Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste.

Now functioning in 25 states with a claimed membership of two million and a door-to-door fundraising canvass that reaches 12 million people per year, they are sought by candidates who see them as a new-style army of door-thumpers. Most are tightly allied with labor unions, deeply involved in local Democratic Party politics and more interested in national issues—or even international issues such as South Africa or Central America—than they were only a few years ago. This more comprehensive strategy has some new strengths. For example, New Jersey Citizen Action took advantage of public outrage at the closing of some prosperous, high-tech factories who simply wanted lower wages and no unions to push a fairly strong plant closing law through the legislature this year. Traditional lobbying and community group pressure helped, but in order to win they had to organize to defeat the mayor of Jersey City, who had been indifferent to the issue. The day after the mayor lost, one of his former controlled votes in the legislature switched to favor the bill.

The evolution has also brought new problems. New Jersey Citizen Action affiliates are split, for example, over whether to back Peter Shapiro for governor, with the strong tenants organization favoring him and the public employees union opposed. As the groups focus more on national issues they may risk neglecting the local agitation that built them and still preoccupies most of them. In their financial distress, many have failed to keep up actual organizing, relying instead on impressive paper coalitions whose members are often unaware that they are even considered part of a Citizen Action group. Impressive as the canvassing numbers may be, canvasser contacts typically are brief and at the lowest common denominator of politics, designed more to raise money than consciousness. Also, as its national aspirations have grown, Citizen Action came to recognize that they did not have a cohesive, persuasive overall program—especially on the economy—or a clearly articulated vision. "What we have now is generalized rhetoric," Southern organizer Si Kahn wrote in a strategy memo earlier this year. "It sounds all right, but doesn't amount to a lot."

## Groping for a slogan.

That still is true of the theme of this year's Academy and Citizen Action retreat for nearly 1,000 organizers and friends held here at the beginning of August: "building democratic populism." Even these traditionally issue-oriented pragmatists saw a need for a political philosophy, or at least a label, even if vague. Is the "populist" tag simply a quick linguistic stab at making liberal Democrats popular, as some suggest? Or another attempt to find an alternative to charged labels of the left—like "progressive" or "economic democrat"? (Nearly 90 percent of those attending a workshop on populist values raised their hands when asked if they considered themselves some kind of socialist.) Or is this the wave of the future, transcending both capitalism and socialism, as writer and former socialist Harry Boyte argues? For Boyte populism is a movement for personal transformation and community renewal. For Texas agriculture commis-

sioner Jim Hightower it means using government authority to "mess with the structure" of economic relations to help workers, small farmers and business people and the poor. For California Assemblyman Tom Hayden "populism" refers not to economics but a limited range of "quality of life issues," such as day care or environmental protection.

In its first incarnation a century ago populism was a mass movement mainly of small farmers that was radically democratic in style and in its attacks on the powers of the newly-formed trusts and large banks. Later, in the South, it degenerated into racism and reaction. (Since then, culturally conservative but economically radical Southern politicians have often been labeled "populist.") Citizen Action's use of the "democratic" qualifier tacitly admitted that the field is crowded already with right-wing pretenders to the populist cloth cap, from Reagan to New Right direct mail king Richard Viguerie and rabidly racist old right leader Willis Carto and his *Spotlight* tabloid.

A small group of Citizen Action leaders are now deliberating on strategy for their organization. One issue is how deeply their organizations should identify with the Democratic Party. In Connecticut the Citizen Action candidates are largely seen as outsiders fighting a party establishment; in states such as Illinois, Michigan and California the statewide groups have tried to be much more a part of the established party. Booth argued that Citizen Action groups should run more of their own candidates and not back just any Democrat, but she also identified Citizen Action's aspirations with winning back a Democratic majority in the Senate in 1986—surely an improvement but hardly a defeat of the bipartisan conservative majority of a populist victory.

The tension in Citizen Action's new electoral effort was evident the first evening: the featured guest speaker was the new Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL), elected with IPAC support and presented as an example of Citizen Action electoral success. Simon, who gave a tepid liberal speech, has chosen as his first major effort in the Senate co-sponsorship of the balanced budget amendment. The Academy's resident wit and economic analyst, Steve Max, highlighted the conflict by preceding Simon with an argument on why the budget deficits are not so bad.

Max characterized one division within Citizen Action as between those committed to principled stands on issues even if it meant minority status and those who argue that the only thing that counts in politics is putting together a winning majority. Among those who emphasize the electoral majority, there are two rough camps—those who see a primary need to strengthen registration and issue appeal to labor, minorities and other traditional Democratic constituencies and those who would pursue young independents, white collar and professional workers and other potential new Democrats, a position most strongly advocated within Citizen Action by the California-based Campaign for Economic Democracy.

"You can't win a presidency if you can't win a county judge seat," Hightower admonished. But even without winning much yet locally, Hayden argued that the groups should be active in 1988 presidential politics. The ambition to be part of national powerbrokering could easily distract from building a popular movement, the only meaningful strength Citizen Action could demonstrate. Even if they were strong enough to take part effectively in presidential politicking, insiders believe Citizen Action would be split among various Democratic Party wings such as reflected in the 1984 primaries. UAW President Owen Bieber urged the groups to build support for issues first, then candidates would follow. Yet it is a sign of dreary times that Citizen Action, in deciding to launch a new national health care campaign,

## THE STORY INSIDE

will not be pushing for any national health insurance or service—something that even liberal Democrats subscribed to a few years ago. If a populist citizen group can't take such a stand, it is clear most candidates will position themselves farther right.

Citizen Action's preliminary economic program was critical of military spending and corporate waste and called for higher incomes, an industrial policy and greater control over capital. But others within Citizen Action, including Hayden and OPIC's Ira Arlook, have argued that the organization's program should focus more on growth and downplay confrontation with corporations in some instances. Max, representing the labor/left Keynesian wing, argues that abstract growth in itself—the failed panacea of the postwar Democrats—doesn't guarantee jobs, equity or democracy.

The tensions between Citizen Action reflect different experiences, different parts of the country and different organizations. One CED leader remarked that coming to a Midwest Academy meeting was like visiting another country. They also represent real dilemmas for an assortment of groups who have now grown enough to be taken seriously but not enough to make an imprint on national politics. The populism of a century ago is no sure guide to politics today. But it would not hurt to reflect on the hard-hitting attacks on the banks, trusts and wealthy of that time. They suggest that if a popular movement on the left can be mobilized, it will not be around overly cautious proposals calculated to provide momentary electoral victories in 1986 or 1988, but rather a principled, impassioned approach that offers real solutions to people's problems.

"Too few people have too much wealth and too much power, and the rest of us don't have enough," Harkin told Citizen Action, adding that "the issue is not getting government off our backs. It's getting government back in our hands again." It was a welcome echo from the populist past as advice to a would-be populist present.



## IN THESE TIMES

The Independent  
Socialist Newspaper

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

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By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE FIRST HYPOTHESIS SUGGESTED by the French daily *Le Monde* after the July 10 bombing of the *Rainbow Warrior* in New Zealand was that Greenpeace had sunk its own flagship. "If one sticks to the adage 'who profits from the crime?' it is obvious that it's the movement itself," it wrote, before excluding the hypothesis as "too Machiavellian."

There was no dearth of suspects in as much as Greenpeace had made enemies all over the world because of its campaigns to stop chemical and nuclear industries from contaminating the seas with toxic waste. *Le Monde* noted suggestively that the Americans had especially good reason to be annoyed both with the *Rainbow Warrior* (for aiding victims of American nuclear test contamination in the Marshall Islands) and with New Zealand for closing its ports to American nuclear warships.

Four weeks later it came out that the couple of suspects arrested by New Zealand police were French agents, and all clues pointed to the DGSE (General Direction of External Security), the French version of the CIA. Suddenly the tune changed. Now everybody was not against Greenpeace, everybody was against France. Greenpeace, it was hinted darkly, was being manipulated by the very powers it had been irritating, by the "Eastern bloc" on one side and the "Anglo-Saxons" on the other. They were all picking on France.

Roger Wybot, the retired chief of the internal spying outfit, the DST (Direction of Surveillance of the Territory), said he strongly suspected "our 'good English friends'" of having tipped off the New Zealanders about the French spy couple. "We've always had a lot of trouble with British intelligence," Wybot grumbled to the daily *Le Matin*. For good measure, he added that "Greenpeace is infiltrated by the Eastern countries."

Good professional French agents could not have so botched the job as to get caught, commentators speculated. If they weren't framed by Soviet or "Anglo-Saxon" agents, then perhaps the operation had been sabotaged from within: by rightists trying to embarrass the Socialist government, or, on the other hand, by Socialists trying to pin the caper on rightists. The presence, lurking around the *Rainbow Warrior*, of two teams—the couple traveling under false Swiss passports as "Sophie and Alain Turenge," and a hired yacht carrying three frogmen and a doctor known as an extreme right-winger—could be interpreted to fit either theory.

Or it could be that the conspicuous sailboat with a rightist connection was supposed to divert New Zealand security services' attention away from the "Turenge" couple. The DGSE had also sent Lieutenant Christine Cabon to infiltrate the Greenpeace group in Auckland posing as "Frédérique Bonlieu," an ecologist with a letter of introduction from a Socialist member of Parliament who had signed an anti-nuclear petition in the '70s.

The *Rainbow Warrior* was preparing to lead a protest campaign against French nuclear weapons tests in the South Pacific when it was sunk by two explosive charges attached to its hull by divers. The technique is known as a specialty of the French secret services. Portuguese photographer Fernando Pereira was killed by the second blast. The death toll could have been much higher. Seven international leaders of Greenpeace who had planned to spend the night aboard the *Rainbow Warrior* changed their minds and decided to go ashore shortly before the explosions.

Since the DGSE has been incriminated, the usual word used in France to describe the operation has been *bavure*, or "snafu."

Roger Wybot found it "altogether indecent that some French people act indignant that such an operation, even with disastrous results, could be programmed. France did



Der Spiegel

## Facts point to France in *Warrior* sinking

what she had to do out there by putting out of circulation people who were harming her interests."

Perhaps the DST knew about such "indignant French people," but they were not very conspicuous.

Of course, the DGSE was indignant at being caught and afraid of catching the blame. Anonymous intelligence sources leaked justifying theories to receptive journalists: Greenpeace was "a nest of spies" linked to the Eastern bloc preparing to spy on France's neutron bomb tests with ultra-sophisticated equipment. Greenpeace was a "tool of British Petroleum" out to block development of French nuclear power to make France dependent on North Sea oil.

As the scandal broke on August 8, President Mitterrand and his Prime Minister Laurent Fabius took the high ground and named an elder statesman, Bernard Tricot, to investigate the unfortunate affair and determine who was to blame. The press dutifully hailed Tricot as a statesman of honor second only to God whose report could be accepted as scripture. A member of the Council of State who once served as de Gaulle's chief of staff, Tricot is a Gaullist who is above suspicion of covering up Socialists for partisan reasons. He can also be counted on to be guided by that prime French virtue, the *sens de l'état*, meaning the interests of the state come first. Neither the state nor its top officeholders—and least of all the president—must be besmirched by *bavures*.

Tricot's delicate task was to decide who would take the blame. It had to be someone high enough to seem credibly responsible, low enough to keep Mitterrand at a distance and, above all, with enough *sens de l'état* of his own to accept the verdict without protesting that he was only following orders from above. This was apparently impossible under a Socialist government, since DGSE officials are too right-wing to take the rap in order to protect Socialists, even their boss, Defense Minister Charles Hernu. And Hernu himself is too close to Mitterrand to take the rap without making Mitterrand look guilty. Hints flashed through the media that DGSE agents would defend themselves by pulling skeletons out of the closet of whoever passed the buck their way.

The weekly *VSD* described Tricot as "a man who knows boats well, since, at the time of the Algerian National Liberation Front, he kept a close watch on the actions of the 'Red Hand,' a clandestine group organized by the SDECE that sank boats carrying arms for the Algerian guerrillas" (SDECE is the old name of the DGSE.)

Waiting for Tricot gave French politicians a good excuse to maintain their re-

markable silence. Opposition leaders Giscard, Barre and Chirac said nothing. Right-wing Gaullist Michel Debré spoke up to express "surprise that the operation was so badly done."

The most outspoken opposition politician was Charles Pasqua, Senate leader of the neo-Gaullist RPR. Pasqua blasted the Socialist government for tolerating "acceptable interference on our soil by New Zealand!" This was a reference to New Zealand officials sent to France to investigate the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*. Pasqua is enraged with New Zealand for supporting the Melanesian population of New Caledonia in its demands for independence from France.

"The president of the Republic, in order to demonstrate that he knew nothing, immediately demanded to be told all," *VSD* editorialized. "But what's it all about? Surveys prove that a broad consensus exists in

France on the policy of nuclear deterrence. Now there can be no deterrence without testing. Approving the bomb means approving Mururoa. But testing involves protecting the test site.... Let's look the other way then as to the Auckland attack, since it is understood that nations should be hypocritical in such circumstances, but let's not ourselves be dupes of this false indignation."

In an editorial, the daily *Liberation* noted that a "broad zone of tacit consensus has been revealed this summer in the French political class," thanks to the *force de frappe*. "It must be believed that *realpolitik* has invaded numerous heads, that state terrorism has suddenly become routine. But is it maybe simply one of the secondary effects of atomic weapons to popularize cynicism? Isn't it natural that once you agree with the idea of eventually vitrifying Kharkov, the hull of a rainbow trawler or the hide of a Portuguese photographer are not morally troubling?"

*Liberation* itself has helped "popularize cynicism." It condemned the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* on the grounds of an inexplicable "ridiculousness."

By late August, only two second-level

*Continued on page 10*

## The *Journal's* finest hour

In a surprising editorial entitled "Mitterrand's Finest Hour," the *Wall Street Journal* concluded that French readiness to use force against the *Rainbow Warrior* suggested that "the government had its priorities straight." Coming under attack from "a flotilla of hippies" may yet "make Mr. Mitterrand appreciate the true value of a Star Wars defense that would put such troubles in the past," the *WSJ* opined.

"One can argue about whether France should still be setting off nuclear weapons in the atmosphere," the *WSJ* editorialist wrote, perhaps to display his broadmindedness. "It may yet be that at some point France will move its nuclear testing to a cave."

What is surprising is that the *Wall Street Journal*, which can certainly afford a good research staff, didn't get the basic facts straight. France took its nuclear tests out of the atmosphere and under ground 10 years ago.

It was after losing its nuclear test site in the Algerian desert that France moved its tests to the coral atoll of Mururoa in French Polynesia in 1966. Although France never signed the test ban treaty, it moved its tests underground in 1975, evidently in response to protests against radioactive pollution from its tests in the atmosphere. France releases no official information about its nuclear tests, but it is known that about a hundred underground explosions have been conducted since in the atoll's 40-mile long perimeter, transforming it into a "Swiss cheese" and

causing it to sink dangerously. Thus tests have been transferred to holes in the underwater sea bed in the lagoon encircled by the atoll.

The atoll itself, strictly off limits to all but 3,000 technicians of the French atomic energy commission (CEA), is polluted by plutonium from previous tests. Since the Socialists came to office, Defense Minister Charles Hernu has invited scientific missions to the region to verify government claims that the underground tests are not producing radiation that could endanger the health of Pacific islanders. These investigations have satisfied such former protesters as Brice Lalonde, and there is no longer any audible opposition to Mururoa testing in France itself.

But Greenpeace suspects that radiation may be escaping into the sea from the underground testing chambers. In Paris in mid-August, Greenpeace international chairman David McTaggart noted that on May 8 France had carried out its largest underground test ever, and confirmed that for the first time Greenpeace would be taking instruments to measure radiation in the water to find out whether the radiation level is higher.

The French tests expected to resume in September are apparently to perfect the enhanced radiation, or neutron bomb warheads that will in all likelihood go into production next year for the new "Hades" tactical missiles designed for a Central European battlefield.

—D.J.



# INSHORT

Beth Maschinot

## Sitting in limbo

Title IX is still in limbo, and this time the United States Catholic Conference (USCC) may be holding the hatchet that kills the restoration of the sex discrimination law, as well as three other companion laws that address age, race and disability discrimination. Two versions of a "civil rights restoration act" are now being hashed over in Congress. Both attempt to override last year's Supreme Court ruling that held that if a university is found guilty of discrimination in a given program, federal funds for that program alone—and not funding for the entire university—can be cut off. According to Rep. Don Edwards (D-CA), the momentum for a new bill exists in Congress, especially for legislation that "only restores the civil rights legislation to the condition it was in before the Supreme Court's *Grove City* case."

But the version of the bill that Edwards pushed through the Judiciary Committee, and that most civil rights proponents support, is getting a cold shoulder from the Catholic bishops. So far, the bishops have been putting their considerable lobbying weight behind a version drafted in the Education and Labor Committee that includes an anti-abortion amendment proposed by conservative Rep. Thomas Tauke (R-IA). According to the USCC, the amendment is necessary to protect educational institutions from providing abortion-related services for women at federally funded universities. According to Edwards it will do that and more: the amendment could conceivably be used by schools to deny women who've had abortions the right to other educational services. At the very least, Edwards and others fear, it could cause an invasion of privacy for college-age women.

Amelia Parker, the director of the Congressional Black Caucus, agrees with Edwards' assessment. She told *In These Times*, "The bishops are using this civil rights act as another vehicle for their abortion stand, and if they succeed in getting their version to the floor they'll jeopardize the entire legislation and create misery for a vast number of minorities. It's a case of them not being able to see the forest for the trees." Meanwhile, Edwards says he may try to hold up the bill for another year if necessary. "If we can't get a bill that's neutral on abortion [like the Judicial Committee's version] we'll have to wait. We won't attack women's organizations by supporting an amendment that has no right being attached to the civil rights restoration bill in the first place."

## Sitting on the sludge

The publicity that routinely highlights Los Angeles as a beachgoer's boon somehow neglects to mention the high levels of pollution that have contaminated the Santa Monica Bay since the '50s. Now, as recent data pegs the DDT level in the bay as the highest in the country, local water advisory agencies are shuffling the facts in order to avoid a federal sewage treatment rule.

At a hearing before State Assemblyman Tom Hayden earlier this summer, Willard Bascom, the head of the Southern California Coastal Waters Research Project (SCCWRP) downplayed the risk of DDT-caused cancer for bay sportfishers. But Bascom was soon contradicted by a SCCWRP subordinate. In a later letter to Hayden, David Brown, a department head of the water advisory agency, charged Bascom with misrepresenting the data on several important points, including cancer risk and the extent of marine-species reduction. Brown added that his boss apparently believes that SCCWRP's *raison d'être* is to provide data that undermines the necessity of any increased treatment of sewage. As partial evidence for this charge, Brown sent Hayden a Bascom memo expressing fear that higher treatment standards in Southern California may be seen by environmental groups as a model for the nation. A hearing before the Southern California Regional Water Quality Control Board that would rule on the increased treatment was set for July 22 but has been postponed. The city has also missed a July 1 deadline to cease dumping sludge into Santa Monica Bay. Negotiations with the Environmental Protection Agency apparently will garner an extension until February.

According to Brown, "sportfishermen" in Southern California are often poor people who fish for food. They eat large amounts of the oily white croaker, the species most contaminated by sewage and by the 2,500 tons of DDT dumped during the '50s and '60s. Only a few of the people fishing for food on a recent Sunday at Los



Farmer Darrell Ribner shares the mike with farm and labor leaders at an August "Save the Family Farmer" rally in Kansas City, Mo.

While Mexico languishes in a state of economic chaos, Mexico City politicians have begun to address another important issue—street cleanliness. According to the *Mexico City News*, last month "bureaucrats" in the Federal District enacted 31 decrees that outlaw repellent behavior—including making "annoying noises" and "indecorous gestures" in public. Mexican civil rights advocates attacked the restrictive statutes and cited the city judge who interpreted regulation 14 (prohibiting the "use of objects that by their nature denote danger and violate public safety") as a condemnation of "people who aimlessly wander the streets in shorts." More serious fears were voiced by Mexican gays and a rally outside the National Palace in late August drew more than 2,000 protesters.

The lobbying group Common Cause is pressing for congressional hearings into possible National Security Council violations of the Boland Amendment. The law prohibits any government assistance to the Nicaraguan *contra* rebels since October of last year, but a recent investigative article in the *New York Times* suggests *contra*-NSC contact occurred during that time. FDN leader Adolfo Calero told the *Washington Post* that NSC member Lt. Col. Oliver North "met with us half a dozen times this spring." But National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane told *Newsweek* that meetings with the FDN as just "a matter of hand-holding" and says that although North "probably briefed a hundred groups" about the *contra* military situation, he told conserva-

tives interested in funding the *contras* only that "they're in the phone book."

It's back to the drawing board for the Boy Scouts of America (BSA). A recently proposed labor-oriented merit badge caused turmoil in BSA's administrative ranks as opposition from the National Right to Work Committee (NRWC) hastened the BSA to make a recall decision. Earning the optional badge would entail learning some history of organized labor, visiting a labor hall and writing an essay on the labor movement. The NRWC was outraged and now the BSA administrators agree. "We need a more balanced badge, one that represents the entire working community," said Frank Hebb of the BSA.

Angeles' Cabrillo Beach Pier were aware of the posted warnings of the state Department of Health Services. "They should put the signs in pictures," commented Martin Alvarado of Mexico, after noticing they were in English only.

His suggestion was moot. The solitary posting on the pier was spray-painted over.

## The FDN connection

The May 1984 bombing of a press conference for *contra* leader Eden Pastora that killed three journalists and wounded 20 others was brushed aside by some groups soon after it happened as a Sandinista-inspired plot. But two reporters on the trail of the terrorists for the past 15 months say they have evidence to the contrary. Costa Rican-based reporters Tony Avergen and Martha Honey reported on NPR and CBC radio last month that they've found a Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) dissident who claims that a terrorist unit in the FDN planned and executed the bombings, and is also responsible for the subsequent disinformation report that pinned the blame on the Sandinistas. According to the reporters' informant, the terrorist who planted the bomb at the press conference was a right-wing Libyan who was recruited in Chile in 1984 by FDN and CIA representatives. The informant—who is still avowedly anti-Sandinista, but says he's increasingly disenchanted with FDN tactics—also told Avergen and Honey that the FDN will soon launch a wave of terrorist actions also designed to make the Sandinistas look bad, possibly including a raid on the U.S. embassy in Costa Rica and an attempt on the life of exiled Nicaraguan Miskito leader Brooklyn Rivera.

Reporter Avergen, who was injured in the bombing that was unsuccessfully targeted for Pastora, said that his efforts to check out the informant's story have so far uncovered no inconsistencies. He also reported that the informant had been kidnapped (but then escaped) while trying to relay his information to the newsmen. Avergen's office has also received death threats warning him to squelch his information. *In These Times* Central

America correspondent William Gasperini will soon travel to Costa Rica to follow up on the story.

## Together again

Neither dreary weather nor conservative attempts to dress up the farmer as the enemy of laborers dampened the enthusiasm of the 1,000 farmers and unionists at a Save the Family Farm rally in Kansas City, Mo., last month. The rally—organized by diverse groups including the United Auto Workers, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Organization for Women as well as the North American Farm Alliance and the American Agricultural Movement—publicized the growing coalition of farmers, laborers and civil rights workers. Sales of sausages and rice at market value raised more than \$3,000 for the North American Farm Alliance Defense Fund, which helps farmers who are facing foreclosures. Midwest farmers, especially those in Missouri and Iowa, have been hit the hardest by the crisis in agricultural economics.

Speakers focused on farm legislation in Congress, and farm groups wholeheartedly endorsed the Harkin Bill (see *In These Times*, Aug. 21). Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance, called it a "bill for social good" and said it addresses the "right of every individual to a nutritious diet." Hansen also took on the conservative attempt to split the coalition in this early stage. "The enemy of the farmers is not organized labor or minorities or some mystical Jewish conspiracy. The enemy of farmers is corporate greed."

Union leaders told of their attempts to cement the working relationship between farmers and laborers. The Greater Kansas City Labor Council, AFL-CIO, has assigned a committee of four union leaders to serve as liaisons with the farm groups, and the UAW's Kansas City locals also expanded their work with farm groups. Some leaders talked about reshaping the state Democratic Party along the lines of Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party.

This weeks contributors were Michael Jondreau and Bob Jacobi Jr.



By Leslie J. Gersing

NEW YORK

**L**AST YEAR, WITHOUT ANY LEGISLATIVE support, the Reagan administration began withholding federal contributions to organizations that provide abortion services with their own money. The president cut off the U.S. contribution to the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), the world's largest private family planning agency, and withheld part of its authorized contribution to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), the world's largest international family planning network. At the same time, the administration increased contributions to anti-abortion organizations overseas that promote the "rhythm method" as the only acceptable form of birth control.

This year the administration extended its policy into the realm of censorship: family planning agencies and their sub-programs receiving U.S. funds can now have those funds cut off simply for advocating abortion, even in nations where abortion is legal.

Now that Congress is returning from recess, anti-abortion leaders such as Rep. Jack Kemp (R-NY), Rep. Christopher Smith (R-NJ) and Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) are expected to continue their attack on reproductive rights and try to gut funding for UNFPA entirely. For the first time in years no FY '86 money has yet been earmarked for the UNFPA, which depends on the U.S. for 25 percent of its budget and provides family planning assistance and technical training to 130 countries. The new regulations for disbursing funds are so restrictive that many of the world's foremost family planning agencies claim they will not be able to qualify for any money.

Family planning advocates say that without U.S. funds they will not be able to provide contraceptive training. And they claim that the president's anti-abortion policy will only lead to more of what he claims to want to prevent: more abortion. Women will be forced to end unwanted pregnancies with back-alley abortion procedures. Those who go on to give birth will bring children into a world that cannot feed them.

"All the problems caused in the Third World will be worsened," says Rep. Peter Kostmayer (D-PA). "Illiteracy, hunger, disease, infant mortality will continue to rise [as will] the number of women injured by self-inflicted abortion and botched abortion."

This policy would be illegal in the U.S., where access to abortion is constitutionally protected. Although family planning agencies are prohibited from using federal funds for abortion, either in the U.S. or abroad, the Constitution enables them to use their own money as they see fit. Yet many of these agencies with overseas branches are being threatened with loss of funding, even bankruptcy, for providing or promoting abortion in other nations where the procedure is legal.

#### Time-bomb defused.

When former Sen. James Buckley (R-NY) announced this new policy in August 1984 at the UN Population Conference in Mexico City, he stunned the world. He told delegates from 149 nations that the U.S. no longer considered population growth a problem, but an asset. The key to future development was not in controlling the size of populations, but in creating free enterprise economies where burgeoning populations could flourish. "Crises of population," he said, "are in part evidence of too much government control and planning, rather than too little."

The announcement was not merely campaign rhetoric to win support of anti-abortion delegates in that election year. Within weeks the Reagan administration announced it would seek to stop funding the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), the London-based agency with 119 affiliates worldwide. IPPF was spending 25 percent of its \$58 million annual budget (roughly \$200,000) for abortion services. But in compliance with the 1974 Helms Amendment, which denied the use of federal funds for abortion, IPPF paid

for those procedures with other money kept in a segregated account. When IPPF refused to drop its abortion program, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) cut off IPPF's \$17 million grant, 20 percent of its annual budget.

The grant loss forced IPPF to curtail programs in 18 African countries, where they are most needed. The agency estimated the cutbacks would lead to 776,000 additional unwanted pregnancies, more than 100,000 of those pregnancies would end in unsafe abortion and at least 60,000 of the children born would eventually die from starvation and disease. Yet Peters Willson of the Washington-based Alan Guttmacher Institute says, "The true negative impact...was in how many programs have not been opened up in countries where services are not available."

The Reagan administration subsequently took aim at both the UNFPA and the People's Republic of China. Anti-abortion forces convinced the administration that the Chinese government condones coercive abortion, infanticide (of baby girls) and forced sterilization as part of its "one-child-per-family" policy. The administration accused the UNFPA of funding that policy—a charge that the UNFPA repeatedly denied. Although the administration later admitted that the UNFPA was correct, AID Chief Administrator Peter McPherson withheld \$10 million of the UNFPA's \$46 million U.S. grant, the amount AID calculated the UNFPA spends in China. The People's Republic vehemently denounced the charges,

AID is now full of political hacks who would try to score points with anti-abortion forces rather than conduct a real auditing investigation.

"AID is just catering to abortion politics," Kostmayer says. "It's primarily the Reagan political appointees like [Assistant AID Administrator Richard] Derham who want this." Kostmayer believes UNFPA may end up with a maximum of \$25 million for FY '86—\$21 million less than it was authorized to receive in FY '85.

#### Funding the rhythm method.

Since 1980 AID has increased the amount of funding it gives to groups that promote "natural family planning" or "rhythm method" from \$400,000 to \$8 million—a

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says a program can lose funding if "a family planning counselor even tells a woman where she can get an abortion."

AID has said it will redirect money that current grantees refuse, either to its own government-to-government program or to other groups. How AID will do it remains an open question, however. Top AID officials refused to be interviewed on the subject. Yet one AID employee, who requested anonymity, admitted that at least \$50 million of the FY '85 money (\$290 million) has not yet been disbursed because many programs have failed to qualify. This month anti-abortion forces in Congress may decide not to appropriate all \$261 million authorized for family planning in FY '86. Willson insists AID simply has nowhere to

## IN THE NATION

### FAMILY PLANNING

# Reagan's international war against abortion



Lionel Delvingne

#### An anti-abortion demonstration in Washington, D.C., this year

telling Secretary of State George Shultz that the Beijing government "opposed coercive practices in any form," and that the attack was damaging to U.S.-Chinese relations.

Congress members on both sides of the family planning/abortion fence have supported legislation aimed at both China and the UNFPA. FY '86 legislation gives the president the right to cut off assistance to any country or organization that in his determination engages in or manages a program of "coercive abortion," hinting at China. According to an AID source, the UNFPA could lose all U.S. backing if it supports any part of China's family planning program.

Peggy Pizzo of the Washington-based Population Crisis Committee says the UNFPA "is in grave danger" of receiving absolutely no funds from the U.S. this year. She predicts the Kemp-Smith-Helms forces will try to resurrect a cut-off of UNFPA funding during appropriations hearings starting this month. Another fear is that the president may give complete control of the auditing operations to AID rather than to the State Department. Kostmayer, who has led the pro-family planning fight in the House, said his colleagues want the State Department to conduct the audits. They fear

1,900 percent increase, compared to 57 percent increase for family planning overall. And as of July 8 these groups were not obligated to tell clients about any other form of birth control, which Willson calls "subsidizing the withholding of information on family planning." But last month the House attempted to forestall the new pro-rhythm method policy by putting a hold on the latest funding.

Jim Deger of the American Life Lobby, an anti-abortion group, calls the natural family planning method one that "promotes communication between husband and wife...and allows them to maintain their 'pro-natalist' view, in line with their cultural values." Deger says the League "would like to see the government end all funding for family planning" and redirect money into other development programs, because it believes family planning programs are forced on nations desperate for other kinds of assistance.

As money for the "rhythm method" continues to flow, AID has made it harder for traditional family planning organizations to qualify for any funds. A new regulation forces grant recipients to certify that none of the organizations receiving U.S. funds from them (i.e., sub-recipients) provides or even advocates abortion. Dr. Sharon Camp of the Population Crisis Committee

redirect the money that isn't disbursed. The U.S. has direct (bi-lateral) programs in only 30 countries, and of these only nine are in Africa, a continent that has the 40 nations most in need of family planning. Eighty or 90 other nations would only accept U.S. money through multi-lateral funding for political reasons, and U.S. law prevents the U.S. from giving money to others. For example, none may go to Communist countries, or to nations deep in debt, such as Brazil.

Meanwhile, the World Fertility Survey of 400,000 men and women in 41 developing nations shows family planning is both wanted and needed. Half the couples said they did not want any more children; a third said they had not wanted their last child. Everywhere infant mortality increased as the spacing between children narrowed. So did maternal mortality, as Werner Fornos of the Population Institute observed in a visit to a Masai village in Kenya: "I talked to a family in a village where the average woman loses half of her pregnancies. They lamented the fact that this was the will of the gods.... Most of the women died before they complete child-bearing age, and most of them start [having children] at the onset of menstruation."

Leslie J. Gersing is a producer and writer for The Independent News.



## RACE RELATIONS

# Arab-black tensions heat up over urban business interests

By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

**L**ET THE WORD GO FORTH that black men will do whatever is necessary to guarantee the safety of Dr. Conrad Worrill, his family and anyone else fighting against the unacceptable attitudes and behavior of some Arab businessmen who own grocery stores in Chicago black communities," said black community leader Lu Palmer at a recent "emergency" news conference at Operation PUSH headquarters here.

Flanked by a phalanx of about 50 grim-faced community leaders, Palmer said he represented an ad hoc coalition formed to inform the public of threats made on Worrill's life and to make clear "we won't permit such threats to be made without developing strategies to deal with them." Worrill reportedly received five threats phoned in by "Arab-sounding" callers.

Chair of the National Black United Front (NBUF) and a leader of Chicago's black nationalists community, Worrill has long led protests against the shoddy business practices of some Arab merchants. Those protests intensified this summer following the fatal shooting of a black youth allegedly by a Jordanian storeowner. But it was an article he wrote in the black-owned *Chicago Defender* concerning federal investigations into arson-for-profit schemes by Arab shopkeepers that is thought to have triggered the threats on his life.

"The situation seemed to be getting out of hand and we just wanted to let it be known that we, as black men, are taking a very firm stand in defense of our brother," Palmer explained to *In These Times*. "We've been getting complaints for many years about abusive, rude and often violent behavior on the part of some Arab businessmen against black consumers, and we've been trying to work that out. We've had very little success, however. But we simply cannot allow anyone to think they can just threaten one of our leaders with impunity." Palmer said the coalition will provide 24-hour protection for Worrill and his family.

Arab leaders strongly condemned the threats on Worrill's life. Fadi Zanayed, regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, said such threats are probably the work of hotheads or someone who is trying to "poison the growing relationship between the black and Arab communities." Zanayed admitted that some Arab business owners are often insensitive to their black customers and that "we have to clean up our act in many cases."

However, M. Wajih Halawa of the North American Arab Business Association urged the black community to be wary of "reverse racism" in its attacks on Arab businesses. "No one benefits by labeling all of us as bad guys for the actions of a few," he said. "No one will benefit from a division of the two races. When we are victims of crime perpetrated by blacks we don't make it a racial issue. It's a crime issue, pure and simple, and it transcends color."

## Simmering tensions.

Tensions between blacks and Arab merchants who set up shop in black communities have been simmering since the early '70s, when large numbers of ethnic Arabs began buying stores in the inner-city neighborhoods of many frostbelt cities. Many stores they purchased had been unoccupied for years. The urban uprisings of the '60s and the demographic shifts of the '70s rendered some inner-city neighborhoods unattractive to many of the large food

chains and other smaller merchants. Some communities were left without retail food stores of any kind—adding the phrase "shopping-cart commuter" to the urban lexicon.

The Arab entrepreneurs who located in these underserved communities were initially welcomed warmly. Meanwhile, Arab immigrants (many of whom were Jordanian and Palestinian refugees of the Six Day War) saw the black community as an ideal place to get started. Competition was slight to nil and overhead expenses were low.

"Arabs also feel more comfortable among black people," said Dr. Owaias Succari, an officer in the Arab Mid-American Chamber of Commerce. Armed with a strong work ethic, deep kinship ties (which allowed them to borrow money from relatives and employ family members willing to work long hours for little pay) and a lack of fear about operating in high-crime environments, they began finding some success.

According to Michael Sweis, an Arab-American who has lived in Chicago nearly 30 years, "Ninety-five percent of the Arabs living in Chicago are in the grocery store business." In Detroit, those with Middle-Eastern heritage own more than 80 percent of the city's grocery stores, according to statistics compiled by the Detroit Concerned Citizens Council. Figures for cities like New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Washington, D.C., show a similar trend.

Arabs are not the only immigrant groups concentrating their entrepreneurial energies on the black community. Korean and Vietnamese merchants have also been increasing their presence in inner-city neighborhoods in recent years. But since their retail outlets are less concentrated on food and liquor inventory, their contact with the community is of a less intimate nature.

"The conflict is primarily an economic one," said Abdeen Jabara, a Detroit attorney and vice chair of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. "These stores are in the inner-cities—the home turf for what is called the black underclass. Whatever may be the color or ethnicity of the storeowner, problems will exist in this kind of community, because the people who live here are among America's most economically deprived citizens. Now, these immigrants come to this country with business on their minds and they find a perfect economic niche in these communities. They may not speak the language very well or understand the culture, but they've found a niche."

"They're exposed, almost exclusively, to a segment of the black community where crime and other social problems are highest and their opinion of black Americans is often shaped by this limited exposure," he continued. "We here in Detroit have tried to educate our own community to the historic oppression of black people and explain why these conditions exist. We've done a lot in that regard. The black community, already ravaged by waves of outside groups, see another ethnic group dominating economic activity in their areas—a group that sometimes treats them with a racism that is too easily learned from the dominant culture—and they tend to react with a natural hostility."

## "Who's protecting us?"

Jabara is a lot more charitable than many Arab storeowners interviewed by *In These Times*. Although careful not to offend the sensibilities of the community in which they earn their livings, many are critical of community spokesmen who lead the protests against them. Most argue that the

black community should take more initiative to develop its own entrepreneurial class to take advantage of the many opportunities that they insist exist in this country.

"These stores were falling apart and becoming slums before we came here and worked on them," explained Najeh Hassan, an Arab storeowner on Chicago's south side, and the only one who didn't insist on anonymity. "My entire family works here in this store and for the first two years, some of us had to live in the store because we couldn't afford to live anywhere else. We also had to protect it from burglars and other criminals. Most of the people here are very good, but there are very bad people here too."

Hassan said he'd been robbed six times in the four years he's owned the store. "Crime is very high here, and who's protecting us?"

Such concerns about crime and what some Arab merchants claim is a lack of police protection has reportedly provoked some Arab storeowners in Brooklyn, N.Y., to take action of their own. Jitu Weusi, a leader in Brooklyn's black community and a candidate for a City Council seat, said that he's uncovered information on a meeting in which Arab merchants decided to adopt a "get tough" policy in dealing with the black community.

"We heard they've decided to 'fight fire with fire' after several of their establishments were robbed," Weusi explained. "Now we don't know exactly what that means, but we know what it sounds like." Weusi said he found out about the Arabs' meeting while investigating an incident in which an Arab shopkeeper allegedly shot four black teenagers, killing three, over an argument about a can of soda. "If that's

**Arab leaders caution blacks to be wary of "reverse racism" in labeling all Arabs bad guys for the actions of a few. "When we are victims of crime perpetrated by blacks we don't make it a racial issue," said one.**

what they mean by getting tough, then it's clear they are not really serious about improving relations with the black community," he added.

Weusi noted that in the last few years there's been an increase in complaints about Arab storeowners by black customers. "The most common complaints are they feel on our women, offer them money for sex, they disrespect our youth, they often pull out weapons and brandish them in a threatening manner. Sometimes these complaints precipitated a boycott or two, but we've never really made any progress in improving our relations with Arab merchants."

In Detroit, which contains the largest Arab population outside the Middle East, the Caldeans (a Christian sect from Iraq) have their own armed defense force. "Every year someone gets shot here," noted Bryan Wright of the Detroit Concerned Citizens' Council, a group formed to help ease tensions between the city's ethnic communities. "The main problem is that they treat black people as if we have no dignity whatsoever. It's almost like they come into our communities just to take the money out and the hell with the residents."

Jabara said the Caldeans started arming themselves as protection against the violent crime that is endemic to the city's depressed communities. "Although it may seem like a very tense, no-win situation, Arabs have a much closer relationship with the black community in Detroit than in most other cities. But that's because we work very hard at establishing and maintaining that relationship. We're strongly involved in the Free South Africa Movement, Arabs are on the staffs of the two black Congressmen from Detroit and there's also a large Arab blue-collar class working side by side with blacks in the auto industry."

## Solutions discussed.

At the PUSH news conference, Palmer also said, almost as a postscript, "We intend to begin the process of developing a Black Economic Development bank so that money will be available to black entrepreneurs so we can run our own businesses within our own communities."

Although this was downplayed to the press, it was the primary subject during a meeting held following the conference. In fact, the development of an investment capital fund is becoming one of the most frequently mentioned strategies among community leaders in many of the affected cities.

The Black United Grocers is an organization of black storeowners formed in Detroit to counter the retail and wholesale clout of the Caldeans. "The group is trying to pool its resources to give black businessmen a measure of leverage against these other groups," explained Wright. "So far, though, they've not been too successful."

One problem with amassing investment capital for food retailers is that most financial experts consider the business too risky. "Banks are leery of small grocery stores," said H. Samuel McGrier, former officer at the Chicago Economic Development Corporation and presently a senior official at the Small Business Administration's (SBA) regional office. "If anything at all goes wrong, the profit margin is wiped out."

But Palmer is talking about a community-based institution that is independent of traditional lending agencies. The idea for such a bank has been often proposed, but there is no record of such an institution ever getting off the ground. "The Freedom National Bank of New York was supposed to serve such a function," explained Brooklyn's Weusi. "But it has become just another conservative institution looking unflinchingly at the bottom line."

A national summit meeting involving black and Arab leadership is scheduled for September. Organizers of the meeting are counting on the Rev. Jesse Jackson's rapport with Arab leadership to help smooth relationships. Some have wondered why Jackson has not forcefully spoken out on the issue. "This situation is very, very tense," said Weusi, "and if Jesse or anyone else has the ability to do something to ease tensions, I suggest they do it quickly." ■



By Joan Walsh

SACRAMENTO, CA

**G**OV. GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN IS ON the verge of achieving the major legislative victory of his term, with the impending passage of a bill designed to trim California welfare rolls and force some recipients to work for their grants. And if the bill passes, as expected, the Republican governor will have liberal San Francisco Assemblyman Art Agnos to thank for his political triumph.

Agnos co-authored AB2580, a massive welfare reform package that would establish job search and training programs for recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 90 percent of them women. The bill's controversial centerpiece is a "workfare" plan, to force recipients who can't find work after a training course to accept mandatory unpaid job assignments for up to one year.

The product of a coalition between Deukmejian's Department of Health and Human Services and Assembly Democrats, carefully crafted by Agnos, the bill is already being touted as a national model. It resists easy political characterization. To its credit, it promises AFDC recipients a route out of the welfare dependency cycle by allowing them to design a training and education program suited to their skills and desires. But its "empowerment" rhetoric is undermined by the workfare component, which would strip jobless recipients who refuse unpaid work assignments of their benefits.

In the past workfare legislation has provoked massive opposition in the California legislature. Previous bills have been rejected or scaled down to county pilot projects. But Agnos' bill has encountered little opposition in the Assembly.

The bill's success is partly due to Agnos' salesmanship. The Bay Area liberal, a former social worker, was himself once opposed to workfare, and he has successfully pitched the bill as a compassionate job training program. But workfare's new popularity is also a measure of how state Democrats are reading last year's election results. This year increasingly fewer Democrats are willing to go out on a political limb for a program that serves a poor, female and disproportionately minority constituency.

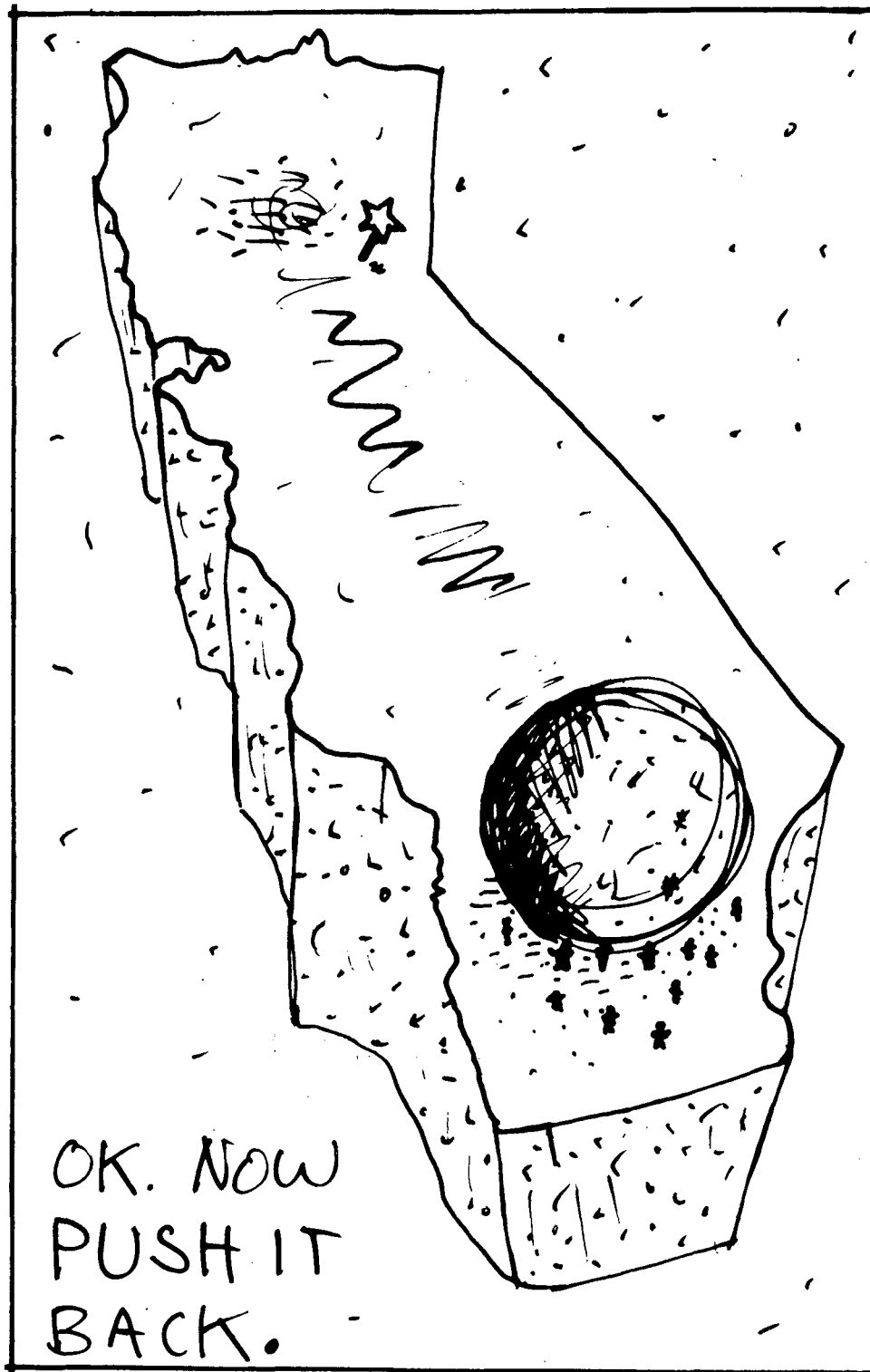
But workfare has opened a rift in the legislature's liberal-left caucus, particularly between Agnos and his long-time ally State Rep. Tom Bates (D-Berkeley). Bates, the bill's sharpest assembly critic, gambled his Human Services Committee chairmanship in a last-ditch effort to block the bill. He pulled it from the committee's hearing calendar August 19, and ran up against the opposition of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a workfare supporter this year. Brown could have taken away Bates' committee chair; instead he merely threatened to call the full assembly into session to overrule the East Bay Democrat. Bates relented and the committee passed the bill, as expected, on a vote of seven to two.

Bates believes the Agnos bill will force large numbers of AFDC recipients into "unpaid public sector make-work," especially in communities with high unemployment already. Agnos has been willing to agree to a seemingly infinite number of amendments to calm opponents' fears about the bill. The result, Bates says, will be a patchwork program that will prove a "bureaucratic nightmare, costly and inefficient." Even legislative analysts predict Agnos' bill could cost the state money instead of saving dollars.

Note the role reversal: Bates, from the left, is forced into a fiscally conservative, anti-bureaucratic critique, while to his right the bill's supporters get to talk about "empowerment" and "dignity" for welfare recipients. Bill co-author Ernest Konnyu (R-Cupertino), who has a history of anti-welfare legislation, touted AB2580 at the committee hearing for offering women "choices—that's what the Agnos compromise is all about." But to a testifying AFDC recipient who asked why she couldn't choose to stay home with her chil-

## CALIFORNIA

# "Workfare" bill may be national model



To its credit, the bill promises AFDC recipients a route out of the welfare dependency cycle by allowing them to design a training and education program suited to their skills. But it would also strip benefits from jobless recipients who refuse unpaid work assignments.

dren—today's right-wing family ideal—Konnyu was honest. "That's the one choice you don't have."

### What kind of training?

Agnos' readiness to amend the bill doesn't extend to AB2580's two most criticized provisions: its mandatory workfare component and its delegation to California's 58 counties the responsibility for developing their own job training, search and workfare programs. These sections are considered key to Republican support for the "Agnos compromise."

"The counties get to decide what kind of training programs are available, and we think the state should make sure the client really has a choice," says Casey McKeever, a staff attorney with the Western Center on Law and Poverty. As the bill is currently written, counties "could rely heavily, though not exclusively, on job search and

workfare programs," McKeever notes.

In Massachusetts, by contrast, an employee training program for welfare recipients guarantees them a wide range of options and no one gets forced into workfare. "Massachusetts gives recipients the choice of what to participate in and they choose programs that help improve their employability. Workfare doesn't do that," says Morton Sklar of JobsWatch, a Washington-based public interest group. "The California bill has a lot of desirable elements—training, education and support services—but with the bill's present language, all those opportunities are just options for the counties."

Providing childcare for AFDC recipients who go through training and workfare has also caused problems with the bill. An estimated 90,000 children over six—parents with children under six are exempt—will need some kind of care as a result of the

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 4-10, 1985 7 program. Though the state will pay a stipend, childcare providers testified at the committee hearing that slots for the children don't exist in California's already overcrowded childcare market.

Childcare is a key concern to Senate President David Roberti (D-Los Angeles). "He doesn't think its components are realistic," says Donna Brownslee, a Roberti aide. Roberti has to grant the bill a rules waiver before it can be heard in the Senate.

Critics of the bill are also concerned that it makes no attempt at job development. Agnos and Konnyu have always acknowledged that the bill is not a job-creation effort. But Agnos, at least, has tried to address concerns that the program will punish AFDC recipients in high-unemployment counties, and that it contains no promise to match job training to county employment market conditions. So far, proposed amendments haven't dispelled contentions that the program will merely dump more people into job markets where others are already unemployed.

But opposing the bill has posed strategic problems for social justice advocates, since Agnos has framed the debate so that those on the other side appear to be defending the seriously flawed welfare status quo. The Women's Family and Work Coalition, an umbrella for 70-plus groups backing a 24-bill women's legislative package in Sacramento, tried to take the offensive by endorsing State Sen. Diane Watson's welfare reform legislation, which would establish job search and training programs for AFDC recipients but wouldn't sanction anyone who didn't choose to participate. "We wanted to point out that there is an existing alternative," said coalition spokeswoman Elaine Zimmerman.

Watson's bill has been sidelined by Agnos', and he insists the workfare portion is non-negotiable. Workfare, Agnos said, will "introduce a concept of obligation in AFDC. People need to give back [to society] as much as they can." But Agnos and the bill's supporters, particularly Republicans, also argue that a voluntary program can't work. "It's a difference between believing that people want to work, and believing that they're lazy and shiftless," noted AFSCME lobbyist Andy Baron.

### A stable workforce.

It's unlikely the bill can be blocked, but it's going to get a thorough work-over in the Senate. "There's not as much enthusiasm here as on the Assembly side," says Brownslee. "We don't subscribe to the tidal wave theory. All we're hearing are doubts."

Although some form of workfare appears inevitable, Bates aide Dion Aroner believes the term of assignment may be shortened through amendment. "One-year assignments provide a very stable, unpaid workforce," Aroner said. And while Agnos has promised labor unions strong language preventing workfare assignees from displacing public employees, they're not convinced. A San Diego workfare pilot project has prompted several displacement complaints by the AFSCME local there. The California Labor Federation (CLF) continues to oppose AB2580 because of its workfare provision, which CLF President Jack Henning termed "barbarous."

To Democrats looking for a way to escape the party's association with welfare, taxes and minorities, the Agnos bill is a welcome vehicle. "The Democratic Party is looking for new ideas," Agnos told the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*. "Hey, we just handed them one."

But one thing worse than attempting political opportunism is failing at it, and the Agnos strategy has its risks. In fact, the best hope for drastically scaling down AB2580 is a recently released California poll showing Deukmejian trailing Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, whom he narrowly beat in 1982. That surprise result is making some Democrats question the political savvy of handing Deukmejian an opportunity to claim the Agnos bill as a campaign promise made good. From the vantage point of a close gubernatorial race, Agnos' welfare compromise could wind up looking less like a brave, bipartisan initiative than a case of party betrayal. ■



By Cristian Opaso

## FOREIGN POLICY

# U.S. administration strengthens ties to Chilean military junta

**P**RESIDENT REAGAN, INCREASINGLY nervous over the growing polarization of the situation in Chile, is carrying out a new version of his constructive engagement policy. While publicly attacking Chilean dictator Gen. Augusto Pinochet, he is strengthening his ties to the military and beefing up moderate elements in the opposition, trying to force a transition that will prevent the organized left from returning to power.

In November 1984, at precisely the time that Reagan was re-elected to a second term, and in the wake of the first national strike that brought Santiago to a halt, Pinochet imposed a state of seige that became known as the "Small September"—a reference to Pinochet's initial seizure of power in September 1973, in which 30,000 people were arrested and killed. The military junta, citing increased terrorist activities, closed down the six major opposition magazines and conducted raids in shantytowns throughout Santiago, arresting thousands of opposition activists and leaders.

In February of this year, in the middle of the military government's latest crackdown, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Interamerican Affairs Langhorne Motley traveled to Chile for four days. His trip revealed the main elements of Reagan's present policy toward Chile.

The London-based *Latin American Newsletter* reported that in talks with moderate opposition leaders, Motley called for the acceptance of the 1980 constitution (which excludes Marxist parties, allows for gross violations of human rights and calls for elections in 1989), urged dialog with the government and, above all, called for the exclusion of Communists.

The report added that Motley had been lobbying on Capitol Hill for a possible restoration of military aid to Chile, in order to acquire greater leverage in Chilean af-

fairs. This continues the process of U.S. support for the military regime, which many believe began with the CIA backing the 1973 coup.

At the beginning of May, President Reagan, while on his European tour, publicly cited Chile as an entrenched military regime, going against the democratic tide of the region. But on the same day, Admiral Jose Toribio Merino, head of the Chilean navy and one of four members of the military junta, was attending an Interamerican Naval Conference in Norfolk, Va., and would later tour naval facilities in Washington and San Diego.

Reagan's remarks were not the administration's first public scolding of Pinochet's repressive tactics. Following the early November declaration of the state of seige, the U.S. State Department had expressed deep concern over the reimposition of martial law, and had gone as far as abstaining on a \$130 million loan from the Interamerican Development Bank. The Chilean military seemed to have gotten the message. The state of seige was finally lifted in early June, just three days before a crucial vote in the World Bank, linked to the renegotiation of payments on Chile's staggering \$20 billion-plus foreign debt.

## Isolating the Communists.

Motley's advice to isolate the Communists and for the opposition to establish negotiations with the junta has greatly affected the Chilean political landscape.

Three main political coalitions had emerged in Chile following the 1983 days of national protest: the Democratic Alliance, the Popular Democratic Movement and the Socialist Bloc. The Democratic Alliance, today the country's largest, is led by the centrist Christian Democrat Party, and the main force in the Popular Democratic Movement is the Communist Party, which has had a large following in Chile and traditionally adhered to parliamentary principles. The Socialist Bloc is formed by three small but intellectually influential parties critical of the traditional left.

During 1983 and 1984 these coalitions managed, at times, to unite for mass mobilizations against the military junta, but serious differences remain that the Pinochet government has managed to turn to its advantage. In the middle of 1983, in an attempt to further divide the opposition, Gen. Pinochet initiated a short-lived dialog with the Democratic Alliance and simultaneously began a relentless persecution of the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) in which it was ultimately declared unconstitutional and therefore illegal. The government ignored the fact that the MDP parties are deeply rooted in the population.

But a new realignment of the political opposition began taking place directly following the lifting of the state of seige in June, and two major coalitions are emerging. The first, known as the Civic Front (CF), is led by Gabriel Yaldes, the former Chilean foreign minister under President Eduardo Frei, and has substantial support of the Christian Democrats and the right-wing National Party, which represents much of business and the oligarchy. The second major coalition, the Democratic Intransigence (DI), led by Manuel Sanhueza, claims substantial popular support and is thought to be one of the most important opposition groups to form since Pinochet seized power in 1973.

A major distinction between the two is that the proposed CF coalition and its leadership are attempting to create an "accumulation of force to generate conditions for a negotiation," while Sanhueza of the DI maintains that such negotiations only tend to legitimize "a government that we have repeatedly stated is illegitimate." The DI has called for the immediate "deposing [of] the government and finishing with the regime." The use of force as a viable means of bringing about change in Chile, together with questions surrounding negotiations, remain the crucial issues dividing the opposition.

U.S. policymakers appear to have taken sides. Recently a delegation of six leaders of Chile's moderate opposition visited Washington to take part in a conference sponsored by the Democratic Party on Democratization in the Southern Cone of the Americas. No sectors close to the Popular Democratic Movement were invited.

## Easter Island and beyond.

Around the time that the delegation of Chilean moderates visited Washington, a new phase in the Reagan administration's engagement with the Chilean armed forces was made public. In a letter dated May 15 and addressed to House leader Tip O'Neill, James M. Beggs, head administrator of NASA, acknowledged that an agreement had been reached between the U.S. and Chilean governments for the use of Easter Island in case of an emergency landing for the space shuttle. The multi-million dollar project includes the extension of an existing airstrip and the installation of sophisticated electronic equipment on Easter Island.

But the proposed NASA facility seems to have little to do with the space shuttle.

According to NASA sources, there is a one-in-10-million chance that the shuttle may use Easter Island to land.

This would not be the first time that NASA has set foot in Chile. In fact, NASA has been there since the early '60s. In Peldehue, on the outskirts of Santiago, NASA operates one of its main tracking stations of the southern hemisphere. At that site, large dishes and sophisticated radar scan the skies above Chile and are interlinked with a worldwide network of tracking stations and satellites. Considering the current structure of U.S. military forces throughout the world seeking to provide instant global links between ground, air and sea forces, and the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars), installations such as the Peldehue NASA base and the proposed station on Easter Island—2,350 miles from the mainland (and that much closer to the Soviet Union) have great strategic value.

The Chilean government seems to be well aware of this fact and the leverage that it provides them in lobbying for U.S. support in the form of investment and an end to the nine-year military sales embargo.

Even though U.S. official military aid has been banned since 1976, military funding and equipment has continued to flow not only through unofficial channels—in late 1984 a Virginia-based company was found guilty of selling spare parts to the Chilean Air Force—but also official ones. According to the Washington-based Working Committee for Democracy in Chile, the latest foreign aid package passed by Congress included \$100,000 earmarked for "humanitarian" aid to the Chilean Air Force. Such humanitarian aid consists of items such as ejectors for the pilot seats of Chilean jet fighters.

Meanwhile, with the Reagan administration strengthening its ties with the military junta, Pinochet continues to try to clean up his image abroad and at home. But the changes he has made, however, are largely cosmetic.

## The Chilean Air Force most recently received \$100,000 in "humanitarian" aid for such items as pilot ejector seats for jet fighters.

Pinochet recently retired 52 top officers of the Carabineros, the Chilean uniformed police, among them eight generals. Cesar Mendoza, the head of the Carabineros and one of four members of the ruling military, resigned. The reshuffling of the police came after investigations into the March killings of three Communist leaders, including Jose Manuel Parada, a founding member of the Vicariate of Solidarity, the human rights branch of the Chilean Catholic Church. He and the others had been investigating the identity of those responsible for a recent wave of kidnappings. Although Pinochet's changes have shaken up the Carabineros, the other branches of the armed forces also implicated in the killings of the three activists remain intact.

**Cristian Opaso**, formerly a Chilean print journalist and broadcaster, now resides in the San Francisco Bay area. In 1984 he spent four months in his native Chile.

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By Dennis Bernstein &amp; Connie Blitt

**T**HE LIVING CONDITIONS OF MARIA Rosa's *poblacion* typify those in many of the working-class neighborhoods that crowd Santiago's sprawling perimeters. Unemployment and hunger are rampant, and a beggar's door-to-door existence is a common sight.

"There are many people on the government's minimum employment program who eat once a day," Maria Rosa said during a recent visit to the U.S. "And there are a lot of people out in the streets begging for food. They go around every day, small children, with a bag and collect little bits of bread from different houses."

Chileans by the millions have found themselves trapped between oppressive economic circumstances and dire political repression since Sept. 11, 1973. On that day 12 years ago the Chilean Air Force bombed the presidential palace, killing socialist President Salvador Allende, interrupting over a century of government based on democracy and brutally enforcing a military rule on the country. While the overt repression of Gen. Augusto Pinochet's regime—the censorship and carefully crafted torture—have been thoroughly documented, less well known is the daily violence of poverty that the junta's free-market failure has manufactured for the Chilean people.

After the coup, Gen. Pinochet and his U.S.-trained economists began encouraging imports from countries around the world rather than continue Allende's policy of stimulating a diverse internal production. The new government turned its attention to developing copper and a few select exportable goods that could be competitive on the world market. A temporary hiatus ensued, in which money from international banking sources flooded the country and an amazing array of imported appliances, farming and fishing equipment and luxury items were easily available on credit.

But video tape recorders and fancy stereos now gather dust in homes where electricity has become an unaffordable luxury. By 1982, the bottom had fallen out of the economy and the Chilean speculators found themselves looking down the barrel of a multi-billion dollar foreign debt.

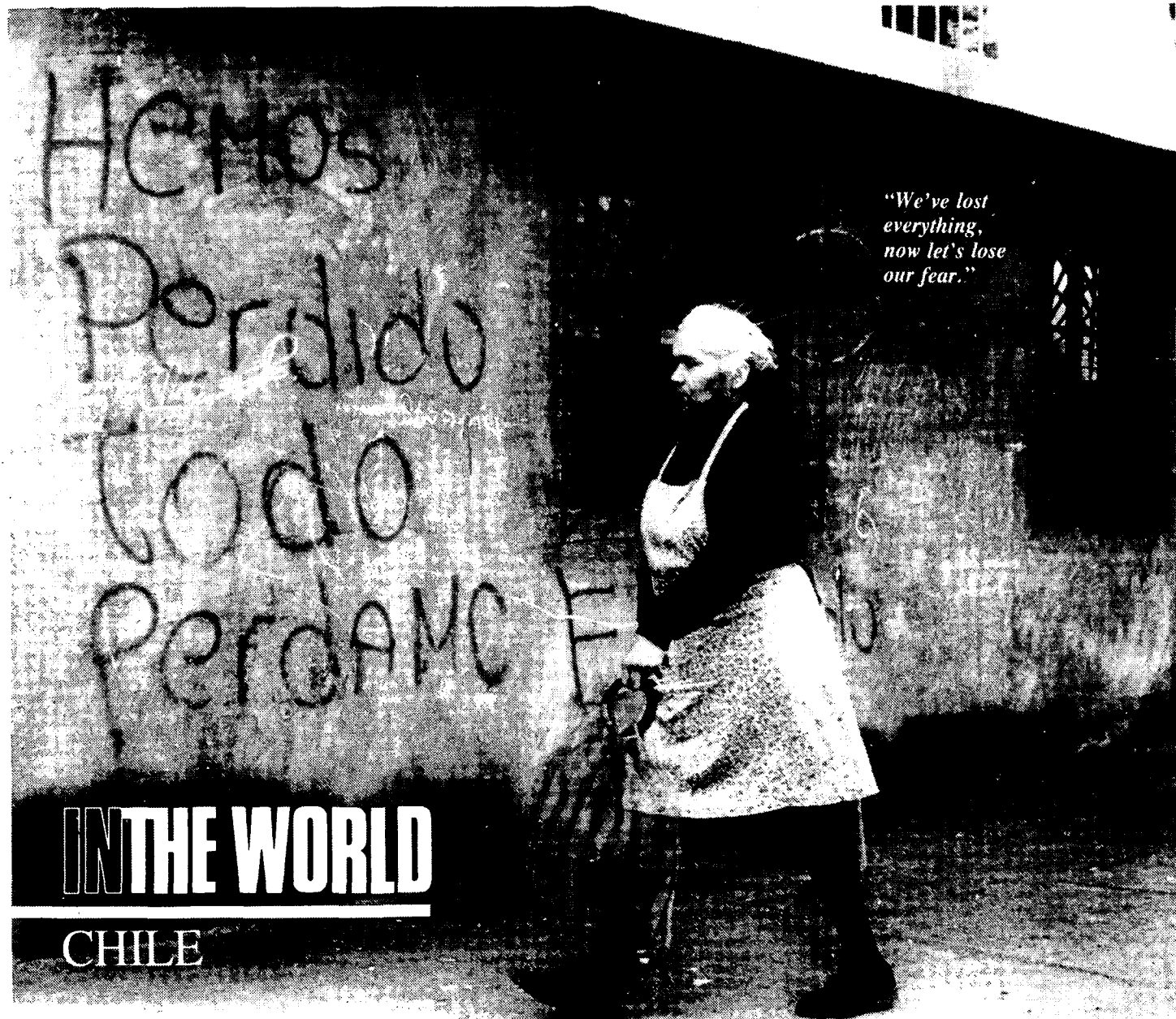
Chile's ability to self-sufficiently feed and employ its own people has been devastated, according to Fernando Paulsen, economics editor of *Analysis* magazine, one of Chile's leading opposition journals. Farmers are told by the government advisers who once encouraged them to convert their farms from growing vegetables to raising cattle for export, to "eat the cows" they can no longer sell abroad. Paulsen said that huge expanses of farm land in central Chile lay abandoned—land so fertile "all you have to do is spit and something grows."

Along Chile's 6,000-mile-long coast line, the once-thriving fishing industry of small independent businesses and cooperatives has collapsed. Gen. Pinochet has chosen instead to sell water rights to foreign investors. Many fishermen must commute to huge South African fishing vessels offshore, where they earn a fraction of their former wage. Women seeking employment in the southern coastal areas often become dependent on Japanese canneries that relocate frequently. Thus a new class of Chilean migrant workers dependent on the whim and will of foreign interests has formed.

Chile's lush central forests are being cut down and hauled off by companies based in Canada and Japan, while American multi-nationals such as Exxon and American Signal group are building multi-million dollar plants in Chile to process the native copper and natural gases. Pinochet's critics assert that this latest strategy for economic recovery, by encouraging foreign companies to take advantage of the country's resources, is tantamount to selling the land out from under the people.

#### Human interest on the debt.

Sixty-five percent of Chile's population of 11 million is now forced to exist on salaries of less than \$120 a month, in a country where food prices are roughly equal



## As economy falters, social crisis worsens

to those in the U.S. and the inflation rate is 30 percent. For those who were once part of Chile's vast middle class, the decreased living standard is unbearable.

"There are many people," says Dr. Joel Gajardo, a Chilean exile and former director of the Committee on U.S./Latin American Policy at Cornell University, "that used to have fairly decent jobs, both in government and in business, that now can do nothing. They are in such an extreme need that they would rather take their own life than face their situation."

The unemployment rate in Chile also hovers around 30 percent, and has climbed as high as 65 percent in many of the working-class neighborhoods. Approximately 360,000 people take part in the junta's minimal employment program, where chronically unemployed Chileans do back-breaking work building roads, tending the public gardens in the commercial districts and sometimes just moving stones from one side of the street to the other. Even if several family members are working in minimal employment, the monthly salary of 4,000 pesos (\$20) is barely enough to afford more than a daily meal of bread and tea.

According to Paulsen, child prostitution is very high, and the use of alcohol and cheap drugs has increased gravely. "I'm talking about neoprene [shoemaker's glue] additives that you smell, sniffing gasoline. The kind of stuff that causes brain damage."

Neoprene induces a state of euphoria in the user, said Father Dennis O'Mara, who lived and worked for six years in several of Santiago's poorest neighborhoods. "It's good for suppressing hunger and for escaping from what's going on around you," he added. In Santiago, 690,000, or 36 percent of the people between the ages of 15 and 24 are alcoholics, and 250,000 of the youth between 10 and 19 are steady drug users.

According to Gajardo, many young women become prostitutes to prevent their families from starving to death. "Visiting some of the neighborhoods," says Gajardo, "mothers will share with me the problem:

they know that their daughters 13, 14 years old are involved. 'But,' they say, 'this is the only way we can eat. We just close our eyes.'"

Often young people cannot concentrate in school because they are persistently hungry. Official government statistics, which are known to be manipulated to appear low, indicate that 116,000 children under the age of six suffer from malnutrition. Often sanitary conditions are impossible, particularly in the shantytowns where outhouses are communal and the sewage runs in ditches by the side of the road. Thus children contract hepatitis from coming into contact with the waste as they play.

Chileans who have given up their rural lifestyle to migrate to the cities in search of work often find themselves jobless and without a place to live. The housing shortage in Santiago, a city of four million, was already acute when an earthquake hit on March 3, leaving an additional 250,000 Chileans in the streets. It is quite common to find four families jammed into a tiny, three-bedroom apartment.

Maria Rosa lives in a housing project equipped with running water and electricity, although these services are often unavailable because most of the residents cannot afford them. The middle-aged Chilean grandmother said that as many as 400 people may draw water from a single outdoor faucet. Clandestine wires are attached to power lines for electricity, at the risk of death by accidental electrocution.

Although she lives in cramped quarters, Maria Rosa believes she is privileged to have a bed and a roof over her head. In the *toma* (taken land), across the street from her *poblacion*, squatters live year-round in makeshift tents of plastic and cardboard. The encampment is just one of many that dot Santiago and its environs. These communities are formed when homeless families united to stake a claim on vacant lots, unused soccer fields or parks.

There is tremendous tension between those living in the *poblaciones* and the well-paid, well-equipped police officials and military

operatives called on to maintain order. Army trucks and helicopters regularly surround and attack Chile's fragile ghettos in search of "Communist infiltrators." Soldiers with M-16s, Israeli-made Uzis and South African riot gear batter down the doors of hundreds, sometimes thousands of houses and arrest anybody they suspect of being a subversive, which in many of the neighborhoods means all males over the age of 10. More than 35,000 people were arrested during the most recent state of siege.

An extended network of church-sponsored soup kitchens, which many people depend on for their daily meal, is often a target for police raids. The military authorities consider the communal meals to be political gatherings and have arrested several "common pot" organizers.

Yet the harsh repressions that have met Chileans at every turn for the past 12 years are losing their effectiveness. Beginning with the huge marches and demonstrations at the end of 1983, the resistance movement has remained vocal and is continuing to organize (see accompanying article by Cristian Oposo).

"People are very angry," said Maria Rosa. "People have now lost their fear."

When asked what has happened in the last year to spark the increase of public protest, she replies, "*Muchas muertes*, a lot of deaths. A lot of people have been banished to remote areas of the country, a lot of people have been exiled, a lot of people have been killed: students, workers, teachers."

Anger and resentment like Maria Rosa's is widespread in Pinochet's Chile. Persistent protests and repeated calls for an end to the military regime followed on heels of an investigation in early August by a Chilean civilian court judge. Judge Jose Canovas found "clear evidence" that 14 police officers were involved in the March kidnapping and killing of three human rights activists. Such revelations are igniting the powder keg created by desperate economic conditions and years of repression.

"The Chilean people are getting more and more aggressive," said Gajardo, back from a recent visit to Chile. "I think they are going to be ready to move in a more concrete action against the government's abuse and exploitation."

Dennis Bernstein and Connie Blitt have written for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Newsday*, among other publications.



political figures had strongly condemned the whole operation in principle. Centrist Bernard Stasi was "surprised and shocked" by the wishy-washy reactions and revealed that back in July 1973, when he was state secretary for overseas territories, he had got wind of a French military plan to sink the Greenpeace ship *Free* and had stopped it by vigorous protests to then Prime Minister Pierre Messmer.

Lalonde is not opposed to French nuclear testing since it went underground (see story on page 3). "I don't think there are any serious problems of radioactive pollution," he said. But he thinks that after the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*, the French government should offer apologies and reparations to Greenpeace, Fernando Pereira's family and New Zealand and, "above all, make an international proposal to ban all

Otherwise, not only the political class but the French public as a whole seemed to take the Greenpeace affair as an entertainment rather than a disgrace. There were no protest demonstrations, no indignant petitions signed by intellectuals. Greenpeace people belong to a category that is rare in France: committed non-violent environmentalists. Years of propaganda against "pacifists" has created an image of a strange breed of troublemakers, naive agents of every imaginable enemy. Such people must deserve whatever they get, and there is no sign of sympathy for them.

For several months, Lyndon LaRouche's various organizations in France (notably the "Schiller Institute") have been leading a conspicuous campaign supporting everything nuclear and opposing the "red-green threat to Europe." The Schiller Institute's campaign to "save the Western alliance, stop the Nazi-Green coup in Bonn" doesn't sound as crazy in France (where nobody knows anything about the real German Greens) as it does in Germany.

On August 26 Bernard Tricot's much-awaited report concluded that the DGSE had indeed been massively spying on Greenpeace in New Zealand, but had nothing to do with the bombing, so far as he

After weeks during which French reactions betrayed the assumption and even the acceptance that the DGSE must have done it, the Tricot report is bound to seem like a whitewash. Meanwhile, the damaging impression has been conveyed that the French public is largely prepared to tolerate state terrorism for the sake of the *force de frappe*.

The Franco-New Zealand hostility is scarcely mitigated by the fact that both President Mitterrand and Prime Minister David Lange are socialists. There has been no love between French and New Zealand socialists, at least since the French worked behind the scenes to shift the 1983 Socialist International congress from Australia to Portugal, to evade Pacific protests against French nuclear testing.

The French consider Greenpeace and Pacific Forum campaigns against French nuclear testing discriminatory because they divert attention from the bigger nuclear arsenals of the superpowers. August 6, at Rarotonga in the Cook Islands, Australia, New Zealand, Western Samoa, Tuvalu,

Lange said the other small independent island states would also sign the treaty, but Prime Minister Walter Lini of Vanuatu complained that it was not strong enough. The French regard the anti-nuclear campaign as nothing but a pretext for the Anglo-Saxon powers—Australia, New Zealand—to extend their own influence through the South Pacific by shoving France out.

McTaggart told the French that *Greenpeace* couldn't be "infiltrated" because it is wide open. He said there were a couple of available spots aboard the *Greenpeace*, the larger boat setting sail from Amsterdam to replace the *Rainbow Warrior*, in case anybody wanted to come along. The *Greenpeace*, the *Vega* and a small flotilla of other vessels are planning to visit inhabited islands near Mururoa to gather information on the health of residents most likely to be affected by the nuclear testing program.

The only reply was an order, two days later, by Mitterrand to the French armed forces "to ban, by force if necessary, all unauthorized entry into French territorial waters" around Mururoa and to arrest all intruders. In the future, as in the past, this order is all the likelier to lead to assaults on the Greenpeace vessels as France unilaterally extends its "territorial waters" around the Polynesian testing site far beyond the 12 miles recognized by Greenpeace. Mitterrand added that "the nuclear tests in the Pacific will continue so long as judged necessary for the defense of the country by the French authorities and by nobody else."

Not even Lalonde or Stasi opposed this order. The only protests were from foreigners. Two leading German Greens sent an open letter to Mitterrand protesting that his order "justifies the murder of the Portuguese peace activist Fernando Pereira and amounts to a *carte blanche* for new acts of war or crimes by your soldiers and spies." The Greens, Dorothy Piermont and Ali Schmeissner, declared that "crimes of state are the most odious. Nothing can justify them."

To everyone's surprise, Prime Minister Fabius announced on August 27 that he would seek a form of parliamentary control. This was obviously an effort to placate the irate New Zealanders rather than a response to any internal pressure. David Lange, who had called the Tricot report "utterly incredible," said that Fabius' statement was the closest to an apology that New Zealand could hope for at the present time. ■



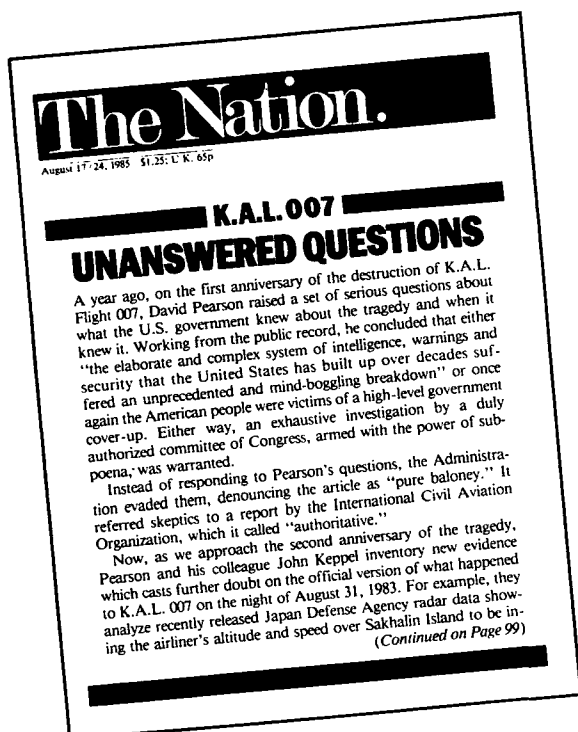
# The Investigation Continues

## K.A.L. FLIGHT 007

### WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

**K.A.L. 007: What the U.S.  
Knew and When We Knew It**  
August 18/25, 1984

David Pearson's scholarly investigation revealed that "U.S. military and intelligence agencies . . . had to have known that Flight 007 was off course well prior to the attack over Sakhalin." Pearson concluded that either the "security that the United States has built up over decades suffered an unprecedented and mind-boggling breakdown" or, more likely, that U.S. intelligence knew Flight 007 was off course but chose not to contact the plane. Or worse, the United States may have orchestrated the flight from the beginning.



**K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions**  
August 17/24, 1985

David Pearson, John Keppel, David Corn and others have investigated further. Based on new Japanese radar data, Pearson and Keppel contend that, "the crew of the Korean airliner could not have accidentally or unknowingly flown its dangerous course over the Soviet Union's Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin Island . . ." and that "the Reagan Administration . . . has covered up vital evidence about the tragedy." This cover-up has included "gag orders and government attempts at intimidation." The authors conclude, "official obstacles are . . . so formidable that nothing short of subpoena power may be able to overcome them." *The Nation* asks, Why has Congress held back from a full and formal inquiry into this bizarre and tragic episode?

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Steve Cagan

## NICARAGUA

# Kidnapping is part of *contra* war plan

By William Gasperini

MANAGUA

**W**HEN ANTI-SANDINISTA *contras* detained 29 North American peace activists and other persons on the Nicaragua-Costa Rica border recently, the incident immediately made international headlines (see *In These Times*, Aug. 21). Once again, Americans were "in danger" overseas, and there was cause for public alarm.

Forgotten in the commotion, however, were the thousands of Nicaraguans who have been kidnapped by the *contras*. Kidnapping is an integral part of the four-year-old war's main *contra* groups, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE), have waged against the Nicaraguan government.

Press reports about *contra* ambushes, clashes with government troops and attacks on such isolated targets as cooperatives always include accounts of deaths, wounded and, inevitably, those who have been *secuestrado* (kidnapped). Often no further reference is made to these persons, who are given up for dead or at least missing for long periods of time.

Some kidnapped victims are well-known, such as FSLN Assembly delegate Ray Hooker, who was taken by ARDE forces last September and released just prior to the November 4 elections. (He won his seat overwhelmingly.)

Others, including German biologist Regina Schmemann—who was marched into Honduras by the Miskito group MISURA in June—are persons who work with government ministries or institutions. In these cases, the *contras* seek to exchange their detainees for prisoners or use them for political leverage.

The vast majority of Nicaraguan kidnapping victims, however, are simple peasants or *campesinos* living in rural regions where the hit-and-run *contra* war is waged. Early in the war, attacks were simple cross-border raids on communities within easy reach, and included some forcible kidnappings.

Over time the practice has become more sophisticated, as the *contras* penetrated

deep inside the country far from the protection of base camps in Honduras or Costa Rica. Both ARDE and FDN have needed to establish crucial support among the rural population for their food and supply needs, as well as to further political ends in seeking to incite a "popular insurrection" against the Sandinistas.

Clandestine radio broadcasts and techniques of psychological coercion, detailed in the infamous CIA manual, form part of this strategy, including heavy emphasis on the intense religious faith of most rural residents. This policy of forcing persons to be on constant guard affects economic production—a principle aim of the *contra* war.

In such areas as Nueva Segovia and Estelí provinces in northern Nicaragua, *contra* command groups rely on direct coercion due to the higher political consciousness among the population. Resistance is stronger in these areas, and techniques such as kidnapping and outright assaults on civilian targets are more brutal.

## Absolute control.

At times entire villages are emptied, as in the case of Cerro Cano Azul, where *contras* forced hundreds of *campesinos* to relocate in the interior of central Zelaya province in September 1984 and held them in "liberated territory."

"We had no life there because they removed us by force," said Ramon Guzman, 55, father of four teenage girls. "Their control over us was absolute. What could I do?"

Guzman spoke of how the captors abused his daughters, including one that the *contra* commander took as his concubine for a month while on patrol. The family labored on the farm of a *contra* supporter for nine months before a Sandinista offensive in May scattered the rebel command force holding them. The uprooted villagers then fled and were later evacuated for medical treatment far from their original homes.

When taken by force, individuals must walk long distances with their captors, often barefoot or tied together to prevent their escape. In many instances, the victims never make it to Honduras; their bodies are found mutilated. Certain FDN command forces have reputations for extreme brutal-

ity, including the gouging of eyes and fingernails (see story page 16).

In one recent case, a 14-year-old boy recounted how he had been trained in assassination techniques, and stated he had personally slit the throats of several victims. Others have admitted to gouging eyes with spoons, a practice also employed by the National Guard under Somoza.

Those brought to Honduras went through intensive training and political indoctrination, according to hundreds of testimonies taken from former victims. Most play along with their captors, eventually returning to Nicaragua as part of a *contra* patrol. That's when they make their escape. Others remain with the *contras* for long periods of time. Today these *campesinos* comprise the majority of the *contra* ranks.

Others join willingly, their families becoming part of the crucial "social base" the *contras* so desperately need. Such family bonds play a significant role in areas where civilian collaboration runs high. Sandinista authorities acknowledge that this social base exists in some regions, although they believe that it springs from propaganda and the difficult economic circumstances the *campesinos* find themselves in.

*Contras* captured in battle by the Sandinistas often claim they too were kidnapped, knowing the practice is so common that the Sandinistas will probably believe them. If this can be proven, and there is no evidence that the person committed serious crimes, the prison sentence will be less severe. (The maximum sentence for any crime in Nicaragua is 30 years.) If the person left the *contras* willingly, there is no punishment under the general amnesty law.

## The vast majority of kidnap victims are *campesinos*.

Thirteen-year-old Hector Luliel turned himself in to Sandinista authorities during heavy fighting in the Estelí area in early August. Speaking in the rough Spanish of his rural upbringing, Luliel said he had been kidnapped in April, taken to a camp in Arenales province in Honduras and later forced to march for three weeks with a *contra* command force of 150 to the area where he deserted.

"When the bombing started, I slipped away and found the soldiers in the BLI Rufo Marin [an elite battalion of the Sandinista army]," he said, his dark eyes watching his questioners warily. "I feel good to be back here. I know they will not hurt me, and I didn't want to be with the others."

*These people have been displaced from their homes by *contra* attack.*

Other captured *contras*, looking disheveled and gaunt from the long march in the woods, sat around Luliel in a government building in Estelí. Authorities later determined that another in the group was a key leader of a command force and responsible for many kidnappings.

Of the thousands who have been taken by force since 1981, no case has generated more publicity inside Nicaragua than that of the young teachers of the "50th anniversary brigade," named for the February 1934 assassination of Augusto Cesar Sandino.

After a six-month training program, 1,500 youths between the ages of 16 and 23 set out for mountainous areas to continue adult literacy programs begun after the 1980 literacy crusade. Ten have died since, during *contra* attacks, and nine have been kidnapped.

Five of the nine teachers disappeared last September 28 near Pantasma in the northern mountains, and the other four have been captured since then. Sufficient evidence exists to suggest that all are alive in camps in Honduras and Costa Rica.

The case gained much publicity when the mothers of the nine joined Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto in his recent fast aimed at "sparking an evangelical insurrection" in opposition to U.S. policy in Nicaragua. Each wearing a white kerchief, the women lay on cots in the local Red Cross office and stopped eating for 25 days; two were later hospitalized for the effects of the fast.

Since the kidnappings, threads of hope have added more drama to the teachers' story. In December a U.S. journalist visited one family and produced a photograph of their daughter, Maria Mercedes Chamorro Morales, explaining he had seen her in a Honduran FDN camp. This same photo later appeared in the right-wing Miami daily *Diario de las Americas* accompanying an article that claimed she had "joined the FDN on her own to fight against the Sandinistas."

Midway through the July fast, an ex-*contra* visited the mothers and told them he had participated in the original September kidnapping and knew at least one of the teachers was still alive. The same week the FDN radio station broadcast the victims' names, saying they were now "combatants against the revolution."

"How much longer can we go on?" said Aura Lila Molina, whose daughter Maritza was kidnapped on election day last year. "They are forcing her to say that. How can I sleep or eat, not knowing what is happening to my daughter?"

It is a statement hundreds of Nicaraguans make each day.



By Beth Maschinot

**R**IDING BIG CITY SUBWAYS IS AN exercise in the search for oblivion. Riders keep their heads down, eyes blank, in a pose of restless boredom. Eye contact often signals danger. Overhead, advertisement placards line the trains, for the most part as formless and tasteless as pabulum: ads for cigarettes, for hemorrhoid relief, for careers in beauty colleges.

Last October a women's art gallery in Chicago attempted to shake up the dull placards. Anita David and Nicole Ferentz of Artemisia Gallery and Buzz Spector, editor of the art magazine *White Walls*, planned to stage the type of show that's been done before in other cities—political art on public transportation (see accompanying story).

Their idea: enlist 18 artists from across the country to create reproducible images that could fill 500 ad spaces on buses, subway stations and train platforms in targeted sections of Chicago. The show's title, "Critical Messages: the use of public media for political art by women," set the tone for the pieces, which the curators intended to be both challenging and urgent. Artists were chosen for their social commentary images. The National Endowment for the Arts and other covered the costs of the show, including the cost of rental space on the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA).

Artemisia approached the CTA through its advertising agent, TDI Winston Network, in October 1984, submitting a description of the show concept. The CTA accepted the show, reserving the right to final approval of the images. And it also ruled out images that contained "nudity, profanity or support of a political candidate."

Not only were the Artemisia curators surprised that the CTA accepted the show so readily, but also they were astonished that the CTA had imposed

# CRITICAL

## CENSORING

so few guidelines. Yet to avoid any last-minute conflict and unnecessary work for the participating artists, the curators asked the artists to turn in mock-ups that could be approved ahead of time by the CTA.

"Critical Messages" was scheduled for a month run in May to coincide

with the city's annual International Art Expo, which draws thousands from across the country. In late March Artemisia submitted mock-ups of the show's pieces. That's when the trouble started.

"Every few days there'd be a phone call from the CTA telling us if the piece just submitted would run," says curator Anita David. "After a few weeks of this, they'd seen them all and had rejected 10 out of 18 pieces. We argued that CTA guidelines didn't justify their rejection." But the CTA responded by pointing out that its advertising contract reserved the right to reject any ads.

The eight accepted pieces rode the buses and trains in May, as scheduled. Artemisia's curators, angry at the CTA's decision to cut the show by more than half, displayed both the rejected and accepted pieces at their own gallery over the next two months. In addition, the gallery published a promotional flyer that reproduced the rejected work. In order to protect their artists' interests, the curators asked the CTA, in what would prove to be the first of several requests, to send a letter outlining the reasons for rejecting the 10 pieces. After several weeks had passed, Artemisia received a four-page letter listing, piece by piece, the CTA's reasons for ruling out the work.

The letter stated, "The CTA's primary function is to move large numbers of captive riders quickly and inexpensively in an environment that will not disturb them and that respects the fact that they are a captive audience while riding the CTA." Because of its responsibility to riders, the CTA will not accept advertising that "raises controversial public issues."

Without a doubt, some of the "disturbing" images would have challenged the riders. Barbara Jo Revell's poster planned for subway sta-

tions asks four men "How do you look at women?" The men reply with an increasingly complex view that ranges from a crude to a more subtle view.

The first man replies: "I look at them from the bottom up." The second: "I like to look at them with my hands." The third man "personalizes" women: "First the legs, then the buns, then maybe the face. I know some guys don't care about the face, but to me it's important." The fourth man has the look of a reflective, college-educated type, and says: "I've been thinking about that lately. I know it must be a drag to be looked at like a piece of meat, but cultural training has made it hard for me to do anything else."

According to the CTA's letter to Artemisia, Revell's poster was rejected because it was "vulgar, immoral and demeaning to women."

Sheila Pinkel's black and white design is simple and jarring. The poster shows two outstretched hands and reads, "Fear is our gross national product." Its advertising-style directness makes it one of the show's more compelling pieces.

The CTA's objection: Pinkel's piece was "disruptive, unsettling and misleading."

Esther Parada's wonderfully ironic poster asks, "Who was Smedley Butler?" Two texts are superimposed over a photo of Butler, the American general who helped prepare Latin America for U.S. corporations in the early 1900s. One text quotes from Gen. Douglas MacArthur's paean to Butler (in the June 1984 issue of *Smithsonian* magazine): "[He is] one of the really great generals in American history." The other text is a statement by Butler himself, titled "I was a racketeer for capitalism."

The CTA rejected this one because it raised "controversial public images, especially in light of strong current

## Who was Smedley Butler?

"One of the really great generals in American history?"

As described by General Douglas MacArthur, quoted in *Smithsonian* magazine "Smedley Butler: a portrait in marble for all seasons" (June 1984).

"He was small. He was round shouldered. He weighed barely 140 pounds dripping wet, and even when he was dry his uniform seemed to hang off him like oversized bathing suits. He never fought in one of his country's major wars. Yet this unlikely model for a recruiting poster was once described by no less a martial figure than General of the Army Douglas MacArthur as one of the really great generals in American history."

The warrior was Smedley Butler. A legendary and almost archetypal Marine, he fought his country's battles from China to the Caribbean, winning two Medals of Honor. (He would have won a third, but regulations did not permit it at the time.) In an age when Americans regarded fighting with almost total approval, Butler was a reckless battler, charging forward like Shakespeare's Coriolanus, without ever looking to see if his men were following. In Butler's case they always were because they trusted and loved him. Higher up, by contrast, tended not to, for he was cantankerous and unorthodox, and he hated military punctilio and "prissy" civilian regulations.

Smedley Butler, in short, was the perfect real-life model of a fighting leatherneck, suitable for training, says, in an early John Wayne movie about a time more innocent than today.

"A racketeer for capitalism?"

As described by himself in his article from *Common Sense* magazine "In Time of Peace: The Arms", November 1935.

"I spent 33 years and 4 months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from a second lieutenant to Major General. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism."

Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for American fruit companies in 1903.

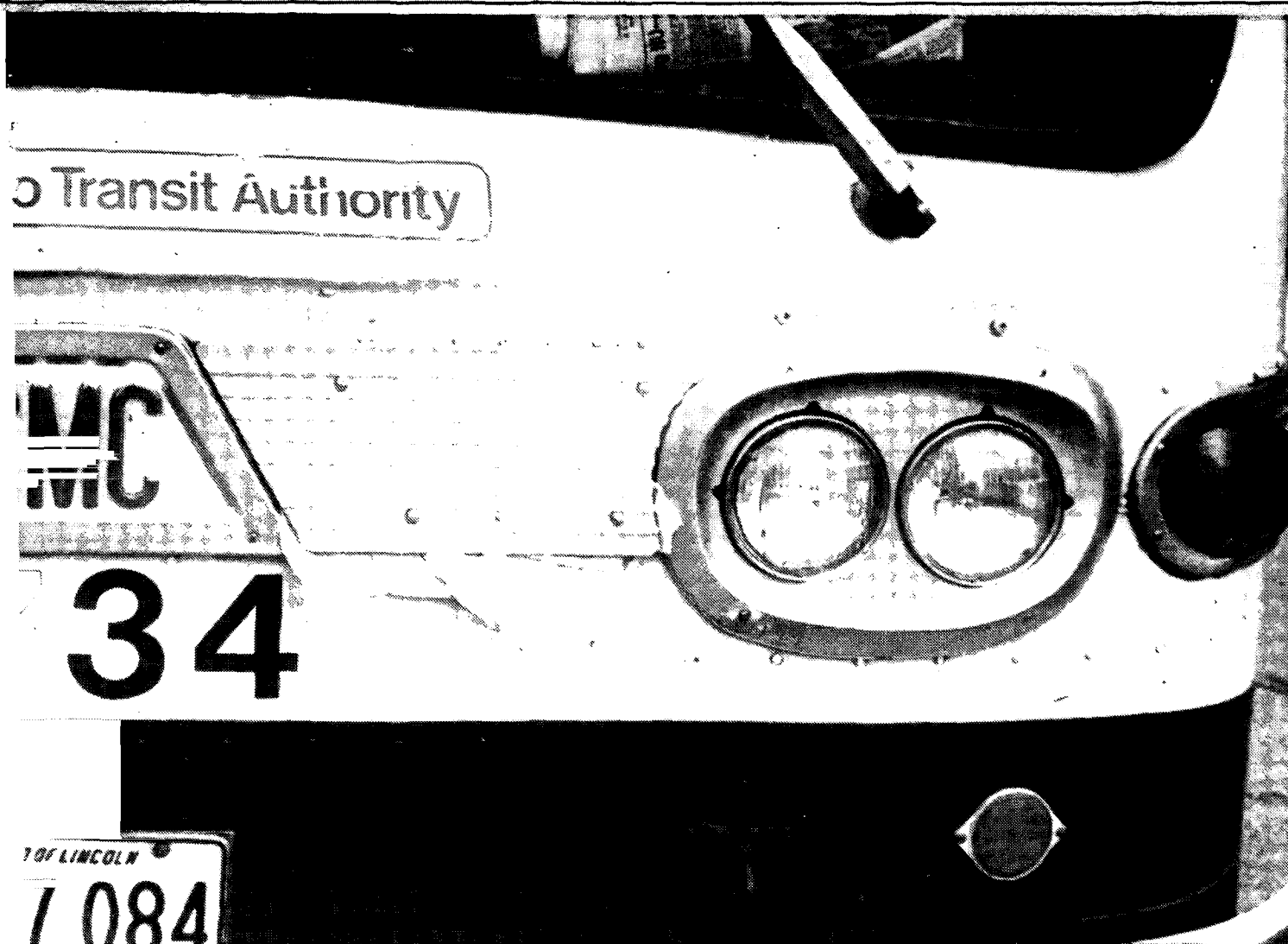
We must give up the Prussian ideal—carrying on offensive warfare and imposing our will upon other people in distant places. Such doctrine is un-American and vicious.

There must be no more reactionary and destructive intelligence work. The true domestic enemies of our nation—hunger, injustice and exploitation—should concern the military intelligence, not the subversive shadows of their own creation.

**Esther Parada's poster was banned because it raised the specter of U.S. intervention in Central America.**

**Sheila Pinkel's piece ... deemed "disruptive, unsettling and misleading."**





# MESSAGES

controversies concerning Central America and the possible use of American military force in that area." Other rejected pieces raised such controversial topics as racism, war and nuclear arms.

Said curator Anita David, "What gives the CTA the right to determine what images of people appear in the public realm? People let in what they want to let in. They even have the right to feel anger or anguish."

Curator Nicole Ferentz added, "There are all kinds of political content in the ads the CTA does allow on its buses and trains. They just want to be able to choose what viewpoints are represented."

That, of course, is the bottom line in Artemisia's situation as well as in other cases that the courts have taken on in recent years. Most government financed transportation companies rent advertising space, usually restrict-

ing only advertising that contains "nudity, profanity or support for a political candidate" or advertising that they deem "immoral or indecent." Frequently these guidelines do not appear in writing and remain open to interpretation by transit officials.

The Artemisia show's timing made it an especially touchy issue for the CTA. In 1983 Planned Parenthood of Chicago had attempted to rent space

on buses and trains for ads informing women about the availability of counseling on prenatal care, abortion and adoption. The CTA refused to run the ads, saying that the transportation company "is not in the business of supplying facilities for the public discussion or debate that an ad for abortion services would cause." On a more pragmatic level, the CTA cited past occurrences of a high volume of complaints when controversial ads were run.

This argument, however, did not convince U.S. District Judge Milton Shadur, who sided with Planned Parenthood's argument that the CTA had previously run public issue ads and that the CTA's denial of Planned Parenthood's request violated the First Amendment.

While Artemisia was preparing the show, the CTA was appealing Judge Shadur's decision. Artemisia's curators believe that the CTA's lawyers were scrutinizing any advertising that might jeopardize their appeal against Planned Parenthood.

The Appeals Court, however, disagreed with the CTA's argument that it had a "longstanding, consistently enforced policy...to reject public issue advertisements." Instead, the Appeals Court agreed with Judge Shadur's ruling that "the purported policy has been contrived" by the CTA so that it could avoid displaying the Planned Parenthood ads. The CTA lost its appeal in late July, thus adding more weight to Artemisia's claim that the transportation company had arbitrarily censored the artists' work.

What's the gallery's next step? The American Civil Liberties Union is researching Artemisia's situation and will soon decide whether to take the case.

Said the ACLU's Jane Whicher, "The CTA has created a public forum with its advertising space, and the Supreme Court says that once a public forum is created, you cannot discriminate in terms of content." When asked what the future holds for transit advertising, Whicher answered, "We ought to be seeing an era of increased freedom on the CTA."

## Political images: no ticket to ride

Battles over political images on public transportation are not new. The first contested case of censorship on public transportation occurred in 1965 when anti-war activists Lee Baxandall and Fred Gardner approached the New York Transit Authority with an idea for a poster to run in 500 slots on the New York subway.

The poster showed the head and shoulders of a 10-year-old Vietnamese girl. She had been napalmed and deep scars ran like rivulets down her back. The text was direct: "Why are we burning, killing and torturing the people of Vietnam?...To prevent free elections" The poster then had a tag line giving the address of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) headquarters.

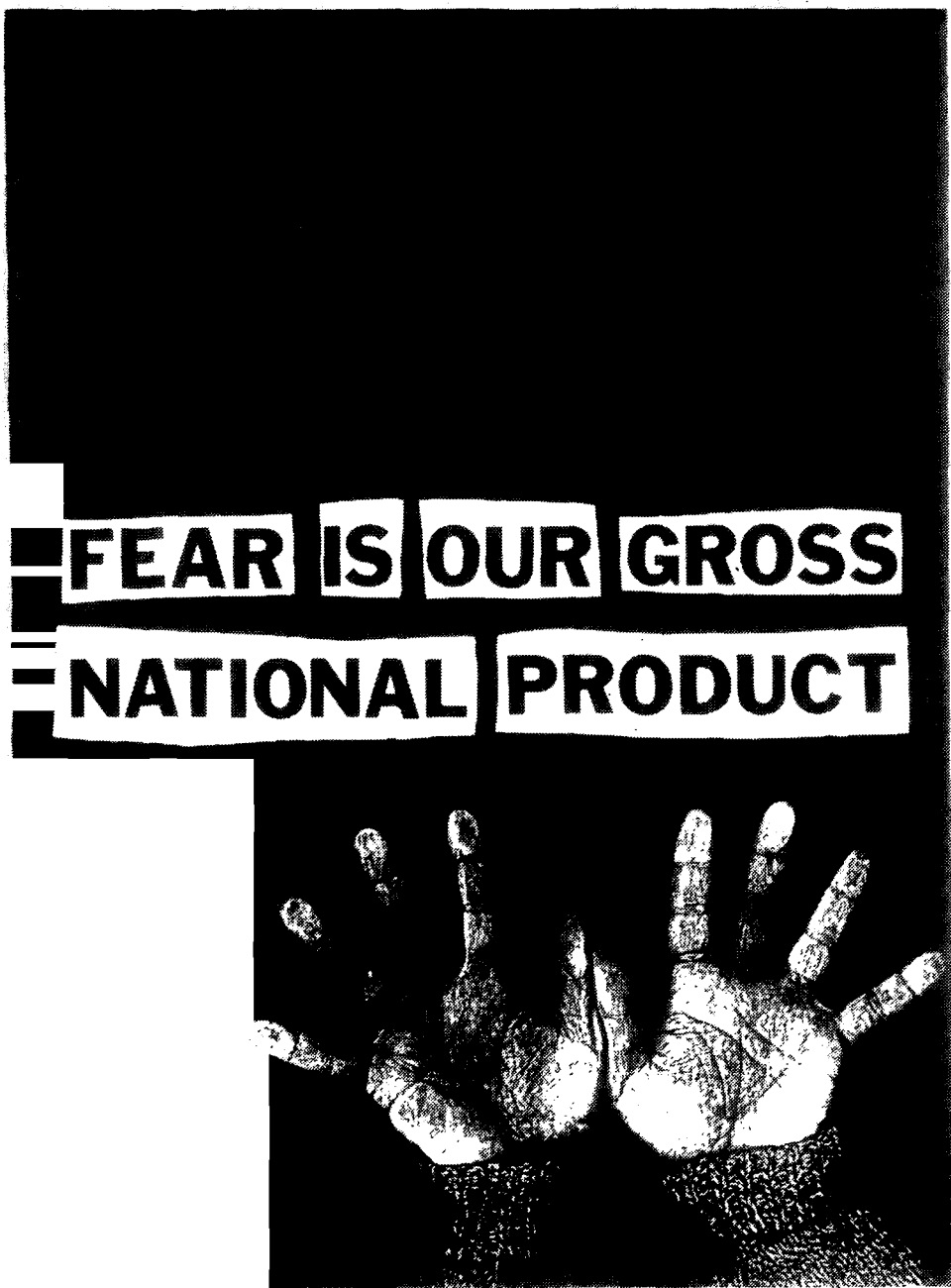
Baxandall says the NYTA rejected the poster outright. "They told me they couldn't accept the poster because it would cause a riot." It took Baxandall and Gardner two years—with legal help from the ACLU—to win their case. "The court decided that the 'riot argument' was ludicrous. By that time, though, Johnson had left the White House and I had moved on to other means of communication," says Baxandall. But not before the poster had hit the front cover of the *New York Times* magazine (June 23, 1966) and had covered billboards throughout the city.

Twenty years have passed since Baxandall's victory, but censorship remains

a recurring problem in New York as well as other cities. In Milwaukee, Mobilization for Survival tried to get their image of a gun-toting Reagan on the buses in 1984. The Milwaukee County Public Transit said the text, which read "In this nuclear age can we afford leaders who shoot from the hip?" might be slanderous. They demanded that the peace group give them a \$10,000 bond to protect them should lawsuits be filed. Mobilization for Survival sued, and the case was finally settled out of court (after the presidential election), with Mobilization for Survival getting two months of free advertising and \$600 in damages.

Another image of Reagan—this time in Washington, D.C.—was tossed about in the courts for more than a year before the artist's rendition was legally approved. Michael LeBron's photo-montage of the president and his cabinet was juxtaposed with a photo of unemployed workers standing waiting for work. The text read, "Tired of the jelly bean republic? Some people are free to choose, while the rest of us foot the bill." The lower court sided with the Washington Metro, saying that the poster didn't fit its ad guidelines, which include the stipulation that the ad show "high levels of good taste and decency" and that it be "truthful" and "harmonize with its environment." LeBron lost in the first go-round in court, but won his appeal. The three appellate judges agreed with LeBron's argument that the poster was political speech, not commercial advertising, and therefore not subject to the same guidelines.

—B.M.





## EDITORIAL

The grassroots people who poured in thousands of hours over the last few years through their work on the freeze are tremendously disappointed and frustrated. We felt that degree of commitment and devotion had to make a difference, and the shock of what happened in the 1984 elections left us reeling.

It's not that support has gone away. It's just that we've tried everything.

—Randall Forsberg, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies

Last week, under the auspices of the Nation Institute and the Institute for Policy Studies, leaders of the disarmament movement met in Boston to discuss the "War System and Peace Mobilization." The mood before the conference was grim.

Despite a survey taken last fall that found 96 percent of the American people believing "there can be no winner in an all-out nuclear war," freeze leader Dr. Helen Caldicott admitted that "we haven't gotten rid of one weapon. We haven't had any impact on Congress. There are more people educated than ever before, and still we aren't winning." In short, the impact on policy of the 5,700 disarmament groups in the United States today is so small that it is difficult to measure.

The reason for this is patently obvious: President Reagan, while paying lip service to the need to end the threat of nuclear war, has elevated the level of distrust of the Soviet Union—"the source of evil" in the modern world—to the point where superiority of arms seems a reasonable path to peace to many Americans. And he has been virtually unchallenged in this endeavor by politicians of either major party, or by the leaders of the disarmament movement.

Nothing could have brought this home more dramatically this past month than events—or non-events—after Mikhail S. Gorbachov's announcement of a unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing disappeared from public view almost as soon as it was made.

First, as the *New York Times* reported, administration officials "said the tests were needed to develop an x-ray laser for a strategic defense against nuclear weapons and to find ways to fight a long nuclear war." Next, White House spokesman Larry Speakes dismissed the Soviet moratorium with the comment that the administration expected "very sophisticated



## The Soviet nuclear moratorium tests freeze movement

Soviet public relations" in the weeks leading up to the Reagan-Gorbachov summit meeting in November, and implied the proposal was nothing more than that.

But it was a good deal more. As retired Rear Admiral Eugene J. Carroll pointed out, the Soviet moratorium, for the first time in the nuclear age, has made it possible to reach agreements that would "actually reduce the number of nuclear weapons rather than merely set high upper limits on new weapons."

### The Soviet proposal.

Gorbachov's announcement was a firm commitment to halt all nuclear tests from August 6 until Jan. 1, 1986, and for as long thereafter as the U.S. refrains from testing. This is a dramatic departure from the format of all arms control efforts of the past 15 years, which has been "talk-test-build." Under that system each side has tripled the number of its strategic warheads, despite 12 arms agreements signed since 1970.

Why does the administration reject this opportunity to talk without simultane-

ously testing new weapons? Secretary of State George Shultz claims that the Soviets broke the past moratorium in 1961. "History," Shultz says, "has shown that when they feel they need to test, they'll break out of it with a bang."

But as usual, Shultz' history is imaginary. In fact, there was no moratorium to break in 1961 because President Eisenhower ended the 1958 moratorium in December 1959 by formally stating that the United States considered itself free to resume testing. The Soviets were under neither legal nor ethical restriction to refrain from testing in 1961, particularly after repeatedly protesting French nuclear tests, which began in 1960.

The administration also claims that the Soviets' surprise 1961 resumption of testing gave them a major advantage. But from Sept. 1, 1961, until the end of atmospheric testing on Aug. 5, 1963, the U.S. actually out-tested the Soviet Union by 137 tests to 71. (Overall, the U.S. has conducted 765 nuclear tests of all kinds to the Soviets' 564.)

And Reagan's favorite excuse for not taking the Soviets' offer seriously—that they have finished their 1985 series while the U.S. has just started its tests—is equally untrue. The Energy Department itself reports that the U.S. has conducted nine tests so far this year, while the Soviets have conducted eight. Gorbachov claims that he decided to stop testing in the middle of a planned series of tests, and this appears to be true. In the past two years both sides have conducted about 20 tests annually.

It's not difficult to figure out why the administration has raised these false arguments against the Soviet proposal for a mutual test moratorium, but neither is it necessary. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Frank J. Gaffney Jr. answered it himself in a June 17 letter to the Center for Defense Information. "Nuclear testing is indispensable to nuclear weapon development," he wrote. In other words, for an administration determined to expand its nuclear arsenal, testing must continue.

### The great silence.

As they have for the past five years, major newspapers and TV news programs have uncritically accepted the administration's view of the Soviets' action. Unfortunately, their sheep-like behavior has been abetted by the silence of the disarmament leaders, who fear that any positive word about the Soviet Union or its actions will put them beyond the pale.

Ironically, the people who have been most active in opposing the consequences of the Cold War are unwilling or unable to oppose its premise. They are so fearful of being smeared as Soviet dupes that they are unable to do the only thing that might be effective in opposing the policies of Cold Warriors of both major parties. They are unable to say—to argue publicly—that the Soviet Union is neither a political nor a military threat to the people of the United States or to democratic society. They are afraid to explain to the American people that precisely because the Soviet Union is such a stiflingly undemocratic society—because it can barely retain control of its own Eastern European satellites—it presents no political or military threat to Western Europe, and less to the United States. And that even in the Third World, the Soviet Union's gains are almost entirely the result of consistent American support for the reactionary status quo and consistent opposition to revolutionary movements that seek genuine national independence.

A few disarmament leaders have spoken up in support of the Soviet proposal, most notably Daniel Ellsberg, who—when he was arrested for protesting the most recent nuclear test in Nevada—said that it was time to stop testing nuclear weapons and start testing the Soviet Union. But the movement as a whole seems almost as paralyzed as the Democratic Party on this issue. And yet it is the ideological premise of Reagan's new Cold War that enables the administration not only to continue the escalation of the arms race, but also to justify a continued \$200 billion federal deficit and a policy of neocolonial intervention in Central America.

We have said before ("Coming to terms with Soviet society," *In These Times*, Jan. 9) that the disarmament movement will have to confront the reality of Soviet society, not the Cold War myths, before it can begin to be effective in challenging the arms race. The Gorbachov commitment to a moratorium on all nuclear testing is a unique opportunity to start this process. Support for the proposal could be a way out of the frustrations and ineffectiveness of recent years.

## Was K.A.L. 007 a U.S. spy plane?

Last week marked the second anniversary of the Soviet downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 as it flew over Sakhalin Island in the Far East. The loss of 269 civilian lives caused an international furor, and among the more self-righteous of those condemning the Soviets, Ronald Reagan stood tall. But the few who looked closely at the events leading up to this tragedy suspected that the Reagan administration was not simply an innocent bystander. The closer they looked, the more likely it seemed to them that Flight 007 could not accidentally have been so far off course, and that it could not have been undetected by American observers as it deviated from its normal flight pattern.

A year ago, the *Nation* published an in-depth report titled "K.A.L. 007, What the U.S. Knew and When It Knew It," and two weeks ago it published a follow-up: "K.A.L. 007, Unanswered Questions." These articles raise serious questions about the extent of Reagan administration complicity in the events that precipitated the downing. They also raise frightening questions about the lawlessness of the administration and the subservience of the American media to its reactionary policies. Readers interested in learning more can order a copy of the current issue from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011, \$3.00.

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## LETTERS

## Raiders

**R**ISKING \$1 BILLION IN AN INVESTMENT IS a far cry from "raiding" ("Corporate raiders are speeding decline," *ITT*, July 9). The oil and gas business is restructuring to meet economic changes, and investing in its future is not destructive. As a large corporate investor, I believe it is progress toward a more efficient and responsible industry.

T. Boone Pickens Jr.  
Mesa Petroleum Co.  
Amarillo, Texas

## Wrong leaders

**I**N RESPONSE TO RICHARD T. TRENCH (*ITT*, June 12), some of us "peaceniks" recognize the futility of legislatively discouraging the arms merchants in a political environment where the executive and the majority of the members of the Congress glory in war. I personally tested the responses of several people in prominent positions during the Vietnam war to the proposition of placing procurement of arms on the same basis as the drafting of manpower—on a cost-only basis—and with negative results.

For what it is worth, even the Pentagon at one time sought ideas on "halting the spread of nuclear weapons." In the February 1977 Letters section of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, the assistant to the deputy director of arms control solicited ideas and suggestions on restricting the spread of the most murderous of weapons.

Short of actual nuclear war it is difficult to imagine any other way to raise the awareness of American workers that all war is impossible without their support. I am afraid that Trench must first consider if debate is a viable instrument where the political leadership of both major parties have bought the simplistic solutions of the arms merchants themselves. Our military industrial system is a fascist-like alliance which will bring disgrace and bloodshed to our country.

Marvin Balousek  
Matteson, Ill.

## Repression, East and West

**T**HE MONTH OF AUGUST MARKED THE fifth anniversary of the Polish Solidarity strikes of 1980, the year in which Jose Napoleon Duarte was made president of the Salvadoran military-civilian junta.

The civil war in El Salvador and the Solidarity movement in Poland have been in the headlines for five years. But let us put repressions in both societies in comparative perspective, using only official State Department figures.

Salvadoran death squads have killed at least 40,000 persons out of the five million Salvadorans in these five years. That is equivalent to 296,000 of the 37 million Poles being killed in the 1980-85 labor unrest. But the U.S. State Department and press could dig up only 12 Poles who have died in clashes with the Polish Army in *Solidarnosc* strikes. El Salvador tolerates no strike, period.

The Catholic Churches of both countries have sided with the people and their leaders have been sacrificed. Archbishop Oscar Romero was gunned down by a death squad while saying mass in a San Salvador church in March 1980. Priest Jerzy Popieluszko was assassinated by the Polish secret police in October 1984. (Three U.S. nuns and a lay churchwoman were raped and murdered by Salvadoran national guardsmen in December 1980.)

The Polish government swiftly tried to sentence the killers of Father Popieluszko—under international pressure, if you like. In contrast, we know for sure that the assassins of Archbishop Romero (and of the U.S. churchwomen) will never be brought to justice in El Salvador.

**In These Times** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

But the U.S. government and "objective" U.S. media are conveniently blind to these stark contrasts. And many of us are hoodwinked by administration propaganda to accept the myth of "Communist repression" and fail to see the extent and degree of atrocities of U.S.-supported regimes, which far exceed any alleged human-rights violations in socialist countries.

The U.S. government condones state-terrorism by its client regimes in Chile, Guatemala, the Philippines, Taiwan, South Africa and South Korea, while waving Helsinki accords on human rights at the Communist states.

Nicaraguan "Communist" Sandinistas have never killed a single civilian. All the murders, rapes and rampages are committed by the *contras*, whom Ronald Reagan calls his "brothers."

S. Zin Gimson

*Editor's note: Gimson lived in Central America 1961-74. He edited the Guatemalan daily La Nación.*

## Money's worth

**I**HAVE NEVER PICKED UP A PROSTITUTE that gave me my money's worth. Each one was content to pick my pocket, which was usually preceded by a drug ritual, usually cocaine. One black whore took me to her home, after an all-night cocaine and heroine trick with me, at my expense, introduced me to her son, showed me a picture of her white husband and then managed to con me out of another \$100 before she dumped me in a white neighborhood, leaving me stranded miles from my motorcycle. I got precisely "no ass" from this familyman's hooker.

I suppose that if we legalized this capitalism incarnate in the flesh (*ITT*, Aug. 7), we could eliminate a lot of the rip-offs prevalent in the business, but I doubt it. Frequently prostitutes get their asses kicked because they are a bunch of damned thieves. I have known men who were robbed at gun-point by prostitutes.

The fact is, if we legalize prostitution it will evolve into a trade that caters to the rich white man only. Rest assured there will be no working-class brothels that service a poorer man's need for sex. Furthermore, the connection with marriage is ludicrous at best. A wife gives her full dedication to the man in question, even when she is in it for the money, frequently serving the man his meals and his loving. Hookers have a lot of gall comparing their contributions with that of a wife.

Prostitution will serve the greedy ambitions of whore America and will in every way emulate their only contemporaries management America. They will be equally corrupt in their ambition for

wealth, power and fame.

Aaron M. Farris  
Fairborn, Ohio

## Not drifting

**R**EST ASSURED! THE ANSWER TO YOUR headline, "NPR: drifting rightward or simply adrift?" (*ITT*, July 24) is no. We are trying to fulfill our basic commitment to cover what matters with due regard to the complexities and ambiguities. We hear a lot from people who would rather have NPR's news wrapped up and passed out in neat ideological packages, but the truth doesn't often come that way. Fortunately, nine million listeners weekly tune in NPR's news and information programs for quality, depth of coverage and intelligent reporting.

As to NPR's general health, today the budget is balanced and there is a little money in the bank. Eighteen new stations just joined NPR, for a total of 306.

When you went to press, it was not certain that "Weekend All Things Considered" could continue next year. However, as the result of an extraordinary contribution by the stations the programs will be continued. That contribution gives us additional confidence that a new funding system in place by 1987, whereby NPR will depend directly on the stations for its primary funding rather than on Corporation for Public Broadcasting, will work.

We are very confident that NPR and its member stations will continue to provide objective reporting and high quality cultural service to an increasing number of Americans, and hope your readers will be among them.

Douglas J. Bennet  
President, National Public Radio  
Washington, D.C.

## Ominous

**H**ELEN KNOE'S ARTICLE (*ITT*, JULY 10) IS seriously flawed in its assertion that all traces of politics have been erased from *Rambo: First Blood Part Two*. Quite the contrary; the film oozes more right-wing history lessons than it does Russian or even Vietnamese blood.

Rambo's violent odyssey is a metaphor for the New Right's version of why the U.S. lost the war in Vietnam. In the film Rambo is abandoned by a bureaucrat back in Thailand when he is just about to win, just as, according to the right, the U.S. Congress and liberal public forced military restraint and withdrawal on an otherwise capable U.S. Army, and later failed to back up Nixon's "Vietnamization" plan. According to *Rambo*, the U.S. got "stabbed in the back" (just as, according to some, the Third Reich got stabbed in the back at the end of WWII). Rambo's rage at an America ungrateful to its vets

is not for how the soldiers were treated when they returned, but for how they were betrayed while they were fighting. More ominously, the specter of POWs still in Vietnam suggests that there is still a job left for the Army to do.

Although the film's release coincides with Richard Nixon's new book, *No More Vietnams*, *Rambo* puts these vile messages for the first time into a popular mass medium. It therefore sharply contrasts with other films of the same "genre."

Bill Hall  
Chicago, Ill.

## Dead horse

**E**NCLOSED IS MY CHECK FOR A \$25 CONTRIBUTION. The term "democratic socialist" is redundant. Democracy, based on the Axiom of Equality as the basis of our Constitution, provides the ethical and moral basis of what must guide any moves toward an alternative to finance capitalism with its military industrial dependency for survival.

I am concerned about your publication in regard to only one occasional tendency. That is the tendency toward nit-picking over ideological details, and occasionally to yak-yak about Communism. The latter is dead in the U.S., so we need not flay a dead horse; let the GOP indulge in that paranoia. And also, the remnants of the Cold War Democrats, who, I hope, we have seen the last of in Mondale.

Roy E. Buehler  
Madras, Ore.

## Brain dead?

**J**OHNN ROSSEN'S OPTIMISM IN AMERICA'S people is admirable (*ITT*, July 10), but I see little which is worthwhile in their recent behavior. These are people who re-elect a man who jokes about bombing Russia (and, of course, the world) and wants to bring Bitburg back. With the exception of blacks and about two out of three Jews, few of them seem to have any brain cells functioning. They celebrate unemployment since 1979 as economic recovery as long as the flags fly and God is praised. Instead of criticizing Reagan and the rightists (Republican and Democrat), they blame every evil on Communism, secular humanism or abortionists.

One resource the U.S. will never run out of is garbage: religious, racist and militarist. If *In These Times* or the *Guardian* could find some white workers who had the brains to know they were being screwed and the balls (or guts, if you prefer) to at least speak out, if not act, I would support them.

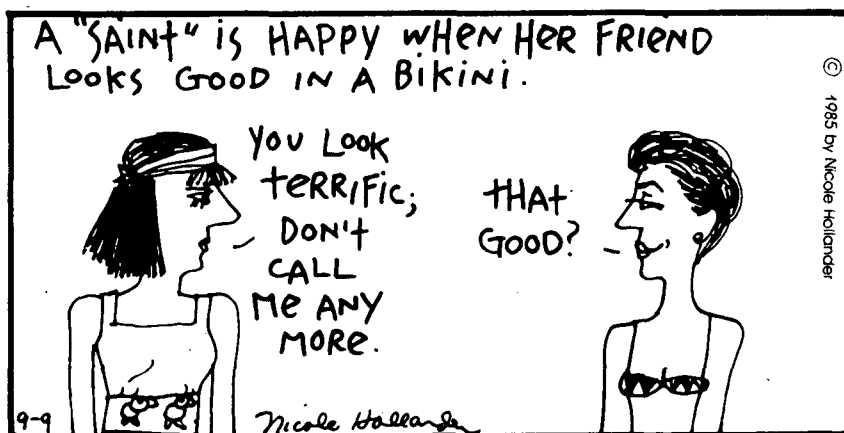
Instead, the same issue tells me about Southern (where else?) women at Hanes who suffer from tendonitis. But fighting back is against "God's" will so they listen to gospel music. Well, let their hands and heads fall off from speed-ups. Let God, Reagan and Rambo rescue them.

Charles Finn  
Charlottesville, Va.

## Correction

**T**HE PHOTO ON PAGE 6, VOL. 9, NO. 31 should have been credited to Robert Gumpert.

## SYLVIA



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## PERSPECTIVES

# The contras were born in original sin

By Edgar Chamorro

Edgar Chamorro, who served as a director of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force from December 1982 to November 1984, has emerged as an outspoken opponent of Reagan administration policy on Nicaragua. Chamorro has argued passionately before Congress and in the Op-Ed pages of major newspapers that the U.S. should end all support to the contra.

**I**N RECENT WEEKS THE U.S. PRESS has reported signs of a dramatic escalation of the contra war to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. This is a prospect to be feared, not celebrated.

Nothing positive will be gained from continuing to destroy the Nicaraguan people and their economy, because the contra in no way represent a democratic influence on Nicaraguan politics. A growth in contra strength to 20,000, 25,000 or even 30,000 men in the coming months would only add to the suffering of a war that since 1982 has left more than 12,000 Nicaraguans dead, 50,000 wounded and 300,000 homeless. Will the Reagan administration realize this after 30,000 have died? After 50,000? Why not stop the war now?

The contra army does not represent the democratic forces opposing the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front). The FDN (Nicaraguan Democratic Force) was created, trained, financed and encouraged by the Reagan administration, repeating the same interventionist tactics that gave us Somoza and the National Guard from 1931 to 1979. This U.S. proxy force is the seed from which only new Somozas and a new National Guard can grow. By mid-1984, 46 out of 48 of the contra comandantes were former National Guardsmen.

In 1979 the FSLN united and led the opposition that defeated Somoza. Six years later the social achievements of the new revolutionary society are many. But some people in the FSLN are abusing the original nationalistic concept, replacing it with Marxism-Leninism. Many Sandinistas have relied heavily on the Cuban model, which has led to excessive regimentation, planning and militarization. For example, the state farms, the literacy and health campaigns, and the CDS' (Sandinista Defense Committees, neighborhood organizations) are carbon copies of the Cuban experience. Dependence on Cuba and the USSR is too strong, and there are indications that as U.S. hostility



U.S. support of the contra army repeats the same tactics that gave Nicaragua Somoza and the National Guard.

continues, Marxism's influence among the Sandinista leadership is growing. This has fueled Reagan's Cold War crusade.

## Just another CIA employee.

In 1982 I became a contra leader, one of seven directors chosen by the CIA to lead the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the largest group fighting the Sandinista government. At that time the CIA told me that in only one year we would accomplish our goal of democratizing Nicaragua. I accepted the job believing I was a Nicaraguan patriot fighting for democracy in my homeland with the support of the U.S. It later became clear to me, however, that to the CIA, I was just another employee.

As a spokesman for the FDN Directorate in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, my interviews and press contacts were closely monitored by CIA operatives. The CIA had advised me to be careful of the "sharks" of the American press who "only want to make news and sell newspapers...." The CIA regularly sent the station chief in Tegucigalpa a wire to reprimand and correct what I was saying to the media, as they did, for example, on April 5, 1983 and Nov. 7, 1983. On another occasion I was instructed to say that the FDN's objective was to put pressure on the Sandinistas to engage in political dialogue.

In 1983 the CIA hired "Latin assets"—mercenaries from other countries, such as Argentina—to plant mines at Nicaragua's Port Corinto. In September the CIA sta-

tion chief in Tegucigalpa brought me a communique written in perfect Spanish to be read to the international press. The statement said that the FDN was responsible for the Port Corinto mining.

After working regularly with the press, I became uncomfortable with the lack of credibility we had developed from such lies. I felt that the FDN needed dignity and integrity with the press, and I decided to challenge this deception and tell more of the true story. I opposed the recommendations made in the CIA "Psych-Ops" manual, which advised the contra to hire professional criminals and to create martyrs from our own supporters. I described to the press FDN's cooperation with the CIA. The more I asserted my independence and honesty, however, the more I was disliked by the men I was working with.

When I complained about the use of professional criminals advocated in the CIA manual, a replacement agent told me, "The mistake my predecessor made was that he put everything down in writing. Those things are done, but they don't get written down." It was this code of secrecy and lack of debate on planning that made me feel like a pawn of the CIA. I realized that the FDN had been reduced to merely a CIA front organization.

Contact with FDN fighters on the Nicaragua-Honduras border, perhaps more than anything else, made me decide against military efforts to overthrow the Sandinistas. I was told that in the contra war all prisoners were executed. A comandante said that he had a special rule of thumb to decide who would live

and who would die. If the prisoner was caught with some ammunition remaining with him, he was spared.

But if he had none left that meant he had fired the last shot—that he had fought to the end. He had to be killed because this indicated that he was a brave and committed Sandinista.

I learned that it was routine to seek out and kill people working for the Nicaraguan government. I heard repeated stories of executions of informers, collaborators, government agency workers, cooperative workers, bank workers—anyone suspected of being a Sandinista. The CIA and the comandantes believed that sabotage, rape, torture, execution and other atrocious tactics would terrorize the population into supporting the contra cause. Jimmy Carter's human rights, they said, were "out" and Ronald Reagan's big stick was "in."

I realize now that the FDN was born in "original sin," the original sin of U.S. intervention. I thought I was dealing with the democratic United States of America. I was wrong. I did not realize that anything the CIA does can be denied. Everything was carried out in such a secretive and totalitarian manner, and the CIA operatives' view of history was so simplistic, that I knew I was dealing with the same "ugly Americans" who carried out the dirty work of the counterinsurgency war against A.C. Sandino in the '20s and '30s. These men could only make Nicaragua less democratic. I would not accept being a puppet of their plans, and they fired me.

The U.S. contra war has only polarized the Nicaraguan conflict into two hostile camps. Legitimate political moderates have been forced to choose between equally undemocratic sides. If they try to exert a democratic influence within Nicaragua they are perceived as creating links to the contra and are repressed. If they join the contra they become tools of the CIA and U.S. intervention.

The Reagan administration's war to "Americanize" Nicaragua has denied Arturo Cruz, parts of the Catholic Church, the business group COSEP, the Conservative Party and other moderates any real national reconciliation. Democracy may never come to Nicaragua if this policy continues. It is time to end the insanity of this war. Too much of the country's blood has already been shed.

**Edgar Chamorro**, currently living in Key Biscayne, Fla., is awaiting U.S. residency status.

**Bill Hall** assisted in the preparation of this article.

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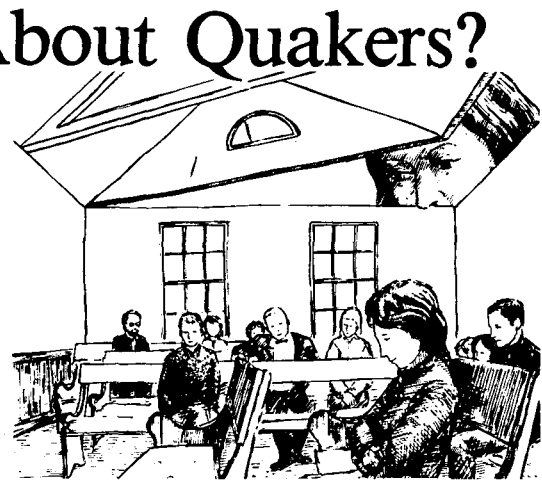
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## PERSPECTIVES

By Renny Golden

**M**ORE THAN THREE years have passed since an underground railroad engineered by a handful of religious people extended the reach of the sanctuary movement's clandestine transport system deep into the U.S. Since that time, sanctuary's numbers have grown to more than 75,000 participants and 250 churches, synagogues and Quaker meeting houses have declared their places of worship to be public sanctuaries for refugees fleeing Central America.

In May of this year, 12 people were indicted in Tucson, Ariz., for "conspiracy to smuggle illegal aliens." Sanctuary workers had long presumed that a church-state collision lay ahead, but they were surprised at the timing and force of the federal attack, particularly since Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) regional directors had stated that they were not investigating the sanctuary movement and arresting workers would only aid the movement's efforts to "seek publicity."

Why then did the government conduct a 10-month investigation that produced 40,000 pages of evidence gathered by agents attending church services and by paid government informants who, according to pre-trial testimony, had arrest records for illegal smuggling and managing a prostitution ring?

Sister Darlene Nicgorski, one of the 12 indicted, says, "The indictments are an attempt to silence the truth by silencing refugee witnesses to atrocities, by silencing church workers assisting refugees and by silencing truth's entrance into the courtroom. As long as the war in Central America can remain technological, clean and distant, the reality of the people's suffering there does not become real to our people."

According to Nicgorski, the Pentagon has learned from its Vietnam experience that the true nature of U.S. involvement in Central America must be kept from the public. She called the "U.S. invasion of Central America, directed from a militarized Honduras, one of the best kept secrets of 1984." But they haven't been totally successful, because civilians keep fleeing their countries, coming to the U.S. for sanctuary and telling just how dirty the war really is.

Four phases of counterinsurgency are intended to keep the war clean and distant: First, control of the civilian population in liberated zones through government relocation centers; second, use of the U.S. government's human rights agencies to obfuscate or deny U.S. involvement with internal Central American military policy; third, repatriation of refugees in other countries back into relocation centers; fourth, control of independent humanitarian assistance programs for refugees.

#### Pacifying the peasants.

U.S./Salvadoran military strategy is no longer directed primarily against the rebel forces. Instead the war's focus is toward the destruction of the *masas* (non-combatants living in guerrilla-controlled areas). The military objective is to cut off the opposition's popular base by forcing the civilian population out of the liberated zones and into government-controlled refugee camps.

Once displaced civilians are driven into these government-controlled relocation camps they are caught in a web of military objectives, the first of which is pacification of the populace. The objective was accomplished in Guatemala beginning in 1981 through massive bombings of civilians and massacres of Guatemalan Indian villages that, as one poet put it, left the highlands so drenched in the people's blood that the earth may never soak it up.



Renny Golden

## Sanctuary movement exposes secret war

Similarly, a government relocation plan in El Salvador, Project 1000, aims at relocating 500,000 civilians. According to *CARACEN News*, "The relocation program, popularly known as 'Techo, Trabajo, Tortillas' (Roof, Work and Bread), carries the same name as that given to the Guatemalan program of 1982-83, which itself largely duplicated the 'strategic hamlets' plans used in Vietnam to drain away support from the guerrillas."

#### Human rights: who's lying?

According to the State Department, Salvadoran relocation camps and Guatemalan model villages are not linked to bombardments and human rights abuses. In February the State Department released its own annual global report on human rights. The report lauded improved conditions in El Salvador and Guatemala and condemned conditions in Cuba and Nicaragua. At a press conference, Elliot Abrams, undersecretary of human rights and humanitarian affairs, went so far as to cite Guatemala and El Salvador, along with Brazil, Uruguay and Guinea in West Africa, as countries that have advanced the furthest toward democracy.

But a 1984 study published by Americas Watch and the Lawyer's Committee for International Human Rights entitled "Free Fire: A Report on Human Rights in El Salvador" concluded that civilian killings by the Salvadoran army have increased. The report states that the "armed forces of El Salvador, ground and air, are engaged in indiscriminate attacks upon the civilian population in conflict zones, particularly in guerrilla controlled conflict zones."

A 1985 study by the Congressional Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus said the U.S. was becoming deeply involved in a war in El Salvador "reminiscent of Vietnam." The release of this study, which criticized administration Central American policy, was not sufficient to slow Reagan's roll on the war drums. The 130-member bipartisan congressional caucus accused the administration on February 11 of having supplied "insufficient, misleading and, in some

cases, false information on aid to El Salvador." As examples, the report showed that 87 percent of the \$1.7 billion in aid to El Salvador since 1980 has been for the military, and that "the administration has provided false information to Congress concerning the number of [U.S.] military personnel operating in El Salvador and about the roles they are performing."

#### Repatriation of refugees.

The treatment of internal refugees by the Salvadoran military is supposedly the responsibility of President Duarte. But according to Heather Foote of the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), the Salvadoran Air Force consults with U.S. Gen. Paul Gorman, head of the U.S. Southern Command, without consultation with Duarte. Related to military pacification policy are decisions about

*The administration wants to keep the true nature of the El Salvador war hidden from view. That's why it's cracking down.*

the use of AC130 Spectre gunships against non-combatants in the liberated zones.

The pacification of refugees in the rural area requires large shipments of food and materials for construction of refugee shelters. As pressure from Central American solidarity groups and the religious sector has mounted against continued economic and military aid to *contras* and to the Salvadoran and Guatemalan regimes, U.S. military groups and their conservative financial backers have rerouted money for military pacification plans and *contra* aid through "humanitarian" assistance programs.

In 1984 the Pentagon, along with the conservative National Defense Council, lobbied for a more prominent role in management of humanitarian assistance in Central America. An amendment to the fiscal defense spending bill in 1985 gives the Pentagon authority to transport goods and supplies (on a space-available basis) that have previously been provided by humanitarian groups. As a result, the Pentagon has awarded this opportunity to right-wing groups, thus offering U.S. and Central American militarists a source of economic assistance for pacification efforts with or without official U.S. aid.

The U.S. pacification effort has other assistance in the field—Peter Stevens, newly appointed Peace Corps mission director for Honduras, told a delegation of Wisconsin and Texas legislators and religious leaders that in 1985 there were 550 Peace Corps volunteers in Honduras—more Peace Corps people than any country in the world except Ethiopia.

Peace Corps workers assist U.S. military-directed humanitarian projects involving both the Honduran peasant population and Salvadoran refugees in camps. Peace Corps workers thus serve the objectives of the over-all pacification plan.

#### Humanitarian aid cover-up.

According to Peter Stone, writing in the *Boston Globe*, two retired U.S. generals, former CIA operatives and commanders of Green Beret Special Forces in Vietnam, are taking advantage of the air shipment opportunity. Gen. Singlaub and Gen. Aderholt are coordinators of a "humanitarian" assistance program called Refugee Relief that has shipped medical supplies and is scheduled to send food, clothing and shovels to Salvadorans, Guatemalans and Nicaraguan *contras*. The generals have criticized the Pentagon and the CIA for failing to supply the Salvadoran government and the *contras* with sufficient aid. Their humanitarian Refugee Relief brochure states: "This type of aid will defray costs that the U.S. government would ordinarily incur, thereby freeing a portion of its financial allocations for additional military and other assistance."

Singlaub and Aderholt also sit on the boards of the 1500-member Air Command Association, the National Defense Council, the World Anti-Communist League, the Christian Broadcasting Network, World Medical Relief, the Knights of Malta and *Soldier of Fortune* magazine.

#### U.S. aid vs. church aid.

The traditional agency for official U.S. aid is Aid to International Development (AID), which was the assistance program for Latin American development in the '60s in order, initially, to support U.S. corporate investments and later to train Latin American police and paramilitary in torture and assassination tactics.

By the end of 1984 the Reagan administration strategy was to channel \$23 million in refugee assistance money from AID through private voluntary organizations including Catholic Relief Services. Previously, right-wing humanitarian aid funding sources, such as the Heritage Foundation, were fiscal channels. Conservative humanitarian aid groups like World Vision and SEDEN are already used as ideological and fiscal funnels for pacification of refugees.

But the new effort to pull liberal humanitarian assistance groups into this military plan is being met with some resistance by Catholic Relief Services (CRS) workers: "The U.S. government is not a neutral party here," said one troubled international relief worker. This is a military strategy, including bombing, to displace people from areas that government cannot control and a linked strategy to then feed, care and pacify those refugees." (*National Catholic Reporter*, January 18)

*Continued on page 22*



By Evans D. Hopkins

IN THE BASEMENT BELOW ME A black man named Morris Mason is being prepared for the electric chair. He will be carefully slain by members of the guard force in 20 minutes or so. The rest of the inmate population at the Virginia State Penitentiary in Richmond is again on lockdown due to the administration's fear of a repeat of the bloody uprising that occurred shortly before James Briley was executed in April.

With Mason now is Marie Deans, the executive-director of the Virginia Coalition on Jails and Prisons. She has fought to save this man's life, as well as the lives of the 28 other men currently on death row in this state. She is certain to suffer great anguish at Mason's death. Not because he has asked her to walk with him to the door of the death chamber. But because, as she says, "Morris is just so incredibly childlike." Diagnosed as mentally retarded and suffering from paranoia-schizophrenia, Mason had been in two mental institutions, discharged from the service and paroled by the Department of Corrections. He had asked on two occasions to be taken off the streets, but Virginia had no halfway houses.

"It's just so wrong," Deans says. "It's like executing an eight-year-old. Can you imagine killing an eight-year-old?"

It wouldn't be hard for me to imagine, for I know about the Mar-

strapped in the chair. Twenty-three hundred volts of electricity is diverted from the homes and businesses of Richmonders and sent slamming into his body for 55 seconds. There is a pause, and the buttons are simultaneously pressed again. There are two buttons, with only one hooked up to the juice, so that neither of the guards manning the switch will know who is actually responsible for this man's death.

Outside the prison entrance I can see the reporters waiting for the word that it's over. On the news is a televised interview with Mason taped just after his conviction in 1978 for the rape of an old woman. He is shown grinning like an imbecile. "It don't worry me," he says of the chair. "Why should it worry me? I did wrong, right? So I get executed." He had pled guilty to the charge, proclaiming himself to be "The Killer of the Eastern Shore."

Allyn Sielaff, the new head of the state's Department of Corrections, is shown telling a reporter how "carrying out these executions in the place that is also the home of people is difficult," indicating they may try to move it to remote Mecklenburg Correctional Center, where most of the death row population is held.

Scenes are shown from the

entrance and announces with perfect composure that the order of the court has been dutifully carried out "in the manner prescribed by law." He made no last statements, except to tell one of the witnesses, Mecklenburg's new warden Toni Bair, that he would "go out strong, just like I promised you."

When the men on the other side of the cell house see the body borne up the basement steps by the six-man death squad, curses are hurled at the keepers in sporadic bursts throughout the building. "Y'all the killers, now, you freak m'fuckuhs!" Reporters walk in front of the building after getting pictures of the departing ambulance, and someone screams out, "Y'all oughta drink his god-dam blood!"

Mason's execution has elicited a great deal of sympathy among many of the men here because he did time in the system and was known to be "off" or "ta-ta," as the saying goes. Convicts generally know when a man might just

of little girls. He is history.

The future does not look very bright, either, for the remaining 28 men of Virginia's death row, or any of the approximately 1,600 men and women in death rows around the country. The men here are also in danger of losing Ms. Deans, who serves as paralegal in most of their cases. She leads the day-to-day legal battles with the state attorney general's office, as well as the last-minute appeals. She is one of a dozen or so professional death penalty monitors in the U.S., and has previously served on the board of directors of Amnesty International. She worked last year out of her apartment, and continued to work after losing her funding and salary. It doesn't look like she's going to be able to stay in Virginia, a state the South Carolina native says has the worst record in the nation for granting basic due process rights to indigent defendants. "Virginia does not even recognize the right to appeal," she says. "It's the only state other than Mississippi that will not even appoint counsel for indigent men condemned to die."

Deans, a 45-year-old mother of two who became involved in prisoners' rights after her mother-in-law was murdered by an escaped convict, had hoped that Virginia Gov. Charles Robb would see Mason's case as deserving a commutation of sentence. But Robb, still recovering from a rash of escapes and disturbances that have rocked the State's prison system for a year, was hardly in the mood to risk being seen as coddling criminals, even an obviously demented one.

I think of how having the executions here has affected the men here. We are all poor, and all of us have been through Virginia's notorious courts. Fifty-nine percent of us are black in a state where black people are but 20 percent of the population. We were locked-down for a month following the riot in which nine guards were beaten and stabbed on April 18 and the entire population questioned about how they felt about the death penalty. We were again locked-down nine days before this execution.

The turmoil in the prison system is the outgrowth of courts, which routinely hand out big time, and the legacy of a good-old-boy chain-gang mentality in a corrections department organized only 10 years ago. Sielaff is supposedly reorganizing the department but the judges and the juries are giving out more life and death sentences. It's supposed to be part of a nationwide trend. Crime is decreasing at an annual rate of 3 percent, while the rate of growth of the prison population is sparking a nationwide boom in prison construction.

In their zeal to combat crime, a legal war has been declared on those who police brand as criminals. Legislatures pass stricter laws, and judges and jurors dish the harsh penalties out with the fervor of vigilantes. A 1983 Media-General study found that black men across the state received twice as much time as white defendants for the same crime, and a Rand Corporation study found similar discrimination across the country. (A recent Justice Depart-

ment study found that black men are six times more likely than whites to be imprisoned during their lifetime.)

The use of the death penalty has become a strong indicator of the racism in the courts, especially in Virginia and the South, where the majority of executions are now taking place, and is indicative of the racism that exists among the population at large. Willie Turner's case against Virginia now before the U.S. Supreme Court, attacks the issue squarely by giving evidence of racism in the state and asserts that jurors should be questioned about racial prejudice when the victim is white and the defendant is black. The case is the result of painstaking legal work by Deans and Charlottesville attorney J. Lloyd Snook III, and is probably the most important death case before the Court this year.

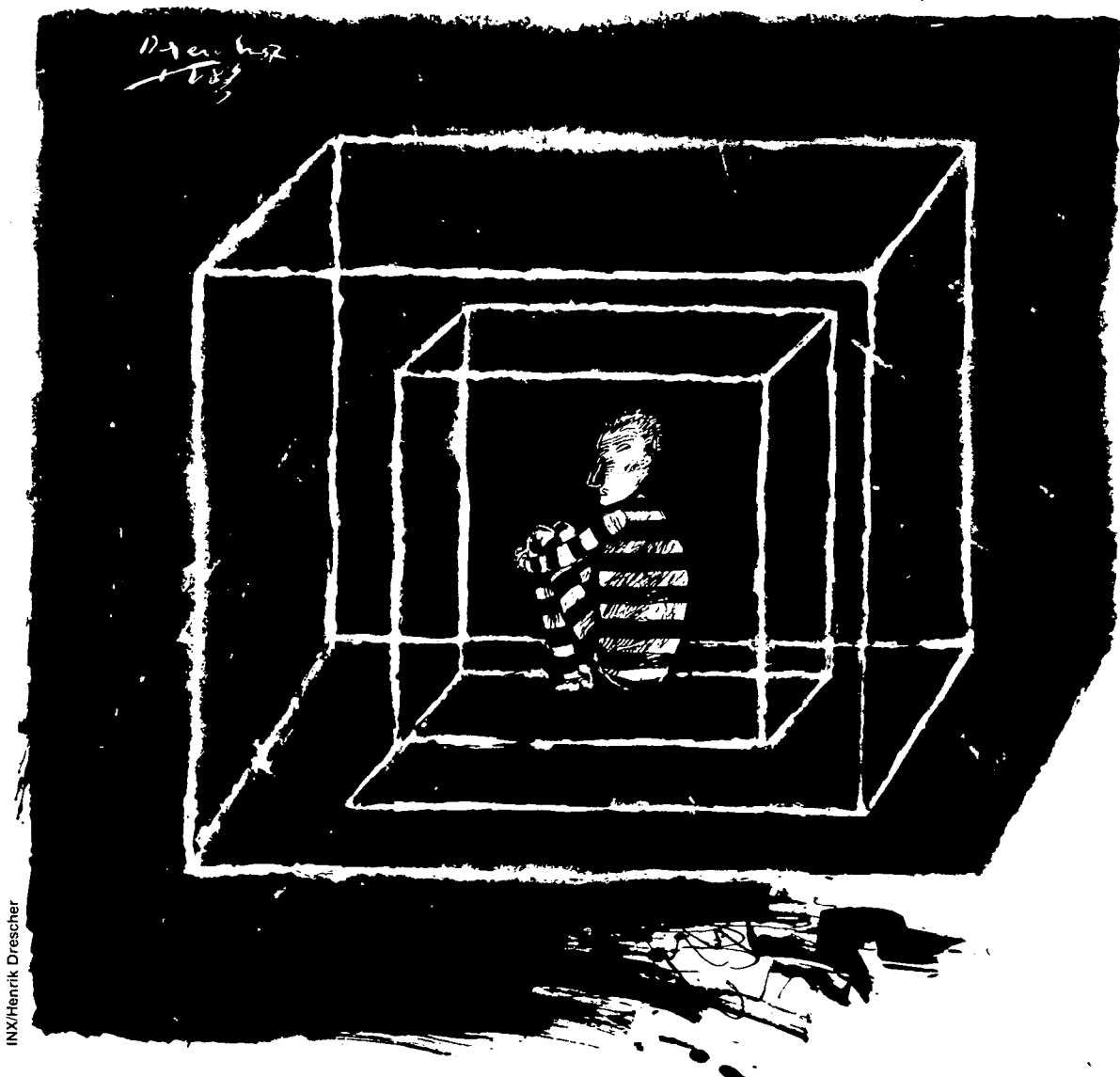
But death penalty opponents have not rallied to help her, perhaps because the movement for the abolition of death sentencing nationwide is in such disarray, or perhaps there are just not enough people opposed to such injustice in this state. Activists nowadays like the foreign policy issues, and ignore the infamy at home. Black activists are beginning to get involved, however, and perhaps with leaders like Andrew Young, Coretta King and Jesse Jackson speaking out a movement may begin around the issues of racism in the criminal justice system. But until fundamental reform takes place, Americans cannot look at the system as being anything close to just.

*The use of the death penalty is a strong indicator of racism in the courts.*

It is nearly dawn. The lockdown will be over soon, and the tedium of prison life will resume with the morning meal. As the sun begins to rise, I cut out the light in my cell and watch the natural light grow. It's an orange glow that seeps through the bars and grimy plexiglass windows of this 80-year-old building, playing upon the riveted boiler-plate walls of my abode, mixing with and then overcoming and extinguishing the harsh glare of the streetlamp Virginia Power erected for Linwood Briley's execution last Fall. Life imprisonment, it seems to me, is a sort of death sentence where one is simply buried alive. But living above the electric chair has a way of giving new meaning to clichés about the beauty of being able to see a sunrise. Until we stop determining that some people are not even worthy of life, we will continue to warehouse those we think unworthy of really living.

Evans D. Hopkins is serving a life term for armed robbery in the Virginia State Penitentiary in Richmond.

## LIFE IN THE U.S.



Richmond 7, seven black youths executed in two days work for rape. Virginia has executed children as young as 12 years of age while chalking up a record of more than 1,200 civil death penalties carried out since colonial times. Well over 1,000 of these were black. Mason will be the 240th person to sit in that dreaded chair, the 205th person of color. The use of the death penalty has been so biased that until the electrocution of James Briley, not one person of any color had ever been executed for a crime against a black person.

It is now 11 p.m. and Mason is

prayer service held by Virginians Against the Death Penalty (VADP) at a nearby church, and of the hundred or so members gathered up the street from the prison in a candle-light vigil. On the other side of the street are red-neck supporters of the death penalty, guzzling beer, hollering, "It's Miller time" and carrying "Fry the Coon" signs. There is a shot of an old white woman dancing a jig in joy of the occasion.

"Y'all the killers now."

The prison's young operations officer and spokeswoman, Kathi King, at last appears at the prison

be "playin' crazy" in order to beat a charge. "Mason was the kind of dude who couldn't stand to be by himself," said one prisoner. "He used to give away his VA check just to keep people around."

"Don't worry about it, Marie," is all he said when I told him that he didn't get his stay. I broke down and started crying, it was so sad. And then I got so mad, he still hadn't realized what the hell they were going to do to him." That's the way Marie Deans had described breaking the news to the deceased, who is now neither man nor child nor idiot-psychopathic killer of old women and maimer



**Final Cut; Dreams and Disasters in the Making of *Heaven's Gate***  
By Steven Bach  
William Morrow & Co., 432 pp., \$19.95

**Funny Money**  
By Mark Singer  
Knopf, 222 pp., \$15.95

By Daniel Lazare

THE BOOM-AND-BUST cycle is capitalism's distinguishing feature, its zebra stripes, its elephant's trunk. The recorded first was in Holland in 1634, the dawn of the bourgeois era, when all Europe was suddenly seized with a strange passion for Dutch tulips. Farmers forgot about vegetables, grain and other mundane stuff to devote themselves exclusively to satisfying the export market for the tiny onion-shaped bulbs.

Just when it seemed that the boom would go on forever, when every last inch of arable land had been pressed into service to satisfy an insatiable export market, demand faltered and collapsed. Speculators were left with warehouses of bulbs that they could not possibly hope to sell. Fortunes that had piled up with dizzying speed vanished just as fast, and men who were previously hailed as visionaries and heroes were now reviled as fools.

So it has gone, through the South Sea Bubble of 1719 and the Wall Street crash of 1929, right up to the Third World lending boom of the late '70s and early '80s. The system demands periodic outbreaks of mass insanity in which swarms of investors rush to the sea. Good sense goes out the window as the movement gathers force. Yet the ending is always the same. The lemming-capitalists leap joyfully into the waves and, to their inevitable surprise, are consumed.

Mark Singer's *Funny Money* and Steven Bach's *Final Cut* are two black-comic romps through the modern terrain of boom and bust. Singer's subject is oil and banking. Bach's is the movie business, specifically the making of Michael Cimino's *Heaven's Gate*, the \$44-million Wild West epic that Vincent Canby, the *New York Times* film critic, described as "something quite rare in movies these days—an unqualified disaster."

But their subjects aren't really that far apart. Bach's tale of ram-paging egoism climaxes with *Heaven's Gate*'s disastrous premier one November evening in New York in 1980. Singer's account of hideous waste ends less than two years later with the collapse of the Penn Square Bank in Oklahoma City.

Essentially, they were manifestations of the same economic disease. In both cases, investors poured millions into the pockets of men whom ordinarily they wouldn't trust with the family car. The stakes grew bigger and bigger, but so did the returns, and the investors assured each other that there was no cause for alarm. They were both wrong, and wound up as the laughing stocks of their respective industries.

#### Oil patch roustabouts.

*Funny Money* is a journalistic *tour de force* by a young staff writer for the *New Yorker* who, having grown up in Tulsa, is uniquely suited to describe what happens when a bunch of Oil Patch roustabouts find themselves at the center

of the greatest gold rush in history. The gold rush, of course, was the quest for oil, which became a global obsession following the Arab oil embargo of 1973. Amid scary talk about something called "the energy crisis," crude oil prices had shot up from \$3 a barrel to \$11. Six years later, they had more than tripled again.

All this made certain sections of Texas and Oklahoma hotter than California in 1849 or the

*The movies and oil—these two subjects aren't that far apart. In both cases investors spent millions and lost it all.*

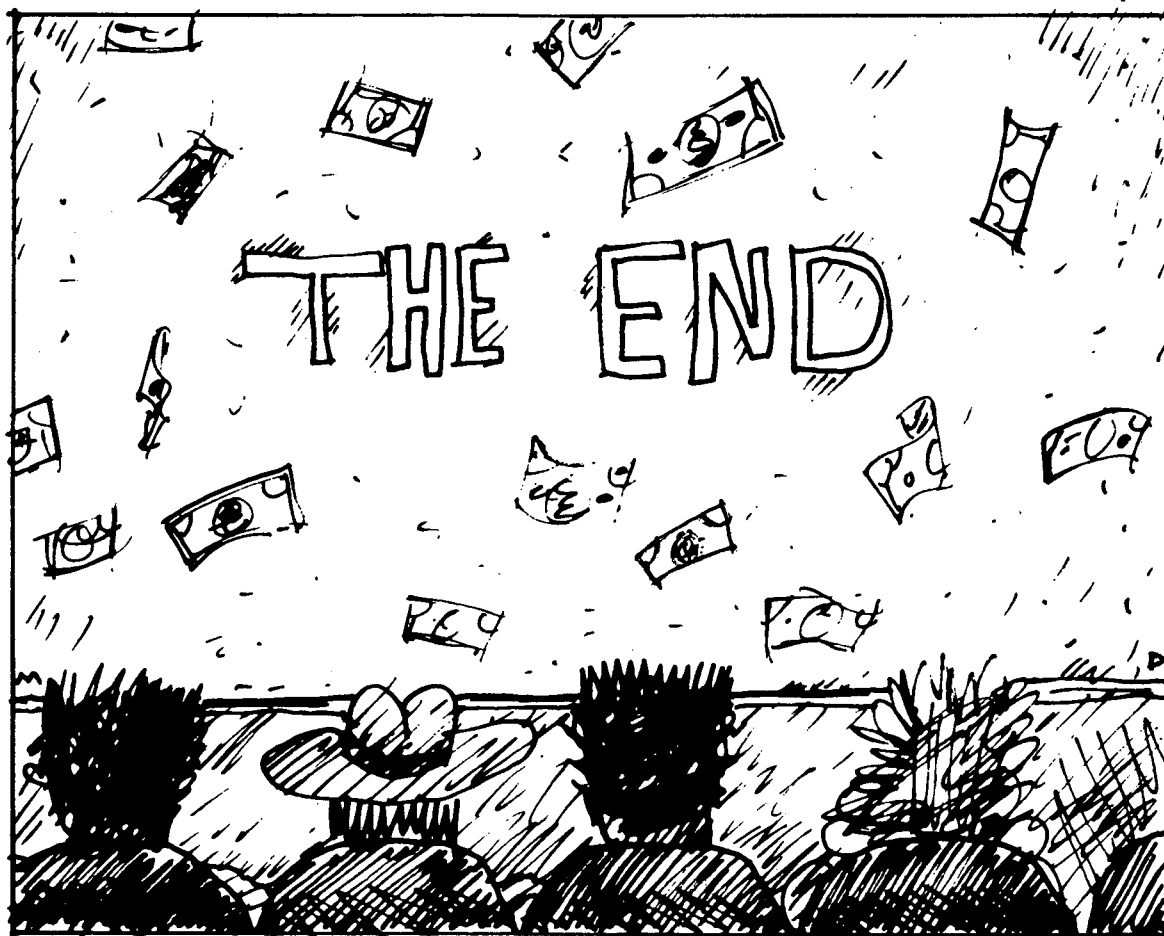
Yukon in 1898. In more sober times, oil men in that region had passed the time with daydreams about drilling ever deeper holes or tapping into unimagined deposits,

Detroit banker making the pilgrimage. In Oklahoma, on the other hand, they had adventure, the romance of exploration and, as long as oil prices were shooting through the roof, a surefire way of making money.

They also had "Okiesmo," Singer's term for a culture that esteemed boorishness with the same fervor that medieval Catholicism esteemed knightly valor. "Excessive Okiesmo," Singer writes, "got dissipated during 48-hour saturnalias in hotel suites, complete with flaming \$100 bills, plenty of company and room service charges that ran to four figures. No women had Okiesmo. Men with Okiesmo coupled with women who admired men with Okiesmo. Okiesmo gave flight to myth."

Money, he adds, gave Okiesmo wings. In this case, other people's money, since the Oilies had mastered the trick of spending heavily while over their heads in debt. The pin-striped bankers loved them for it. They wanted the oilies to spend freely.

Those rollicking good times would undoubtedly be continuing still had oil turned out to be not quite the finite resource that the best minds of the '70s had believed. Rather, manufacturers were learning that a barrel of petroleum could be stretched infinite-



ly far through conservation and increasingly sophisticated ways of gaining heightened efficiency. In a pinch, society was learning to make do with coal, plutonium or even firewood. Oil was also always being discovered in the most out-of-the-way places—the North Sea, the Alaska North Slope or in the waters off Mexico.

By 1981 the world found itself on the edge of the sharpest recession in four decades and with more

when Michael Cimino signed on to direct a Western epic tentatively titled "The Johnson County War." Cimino was something out of a nightmare—scowling, paranoid, endlessly narcissistic, more than a little loony.

Cimino was making TV commercials in New York when he dropped everything, moved to the Coast, where he made a stupendous splash by directing *The Deer Hunter*, a movie so bombastic and

oil than it knew what to do with. Prices began to drop as a result, and all those surefire ways of making money in the Oil Patch turned out to be not so surefire after all.

The fall of Penn Square, where collateral was a mere formality and a contract was not worth the cocktail napkin it was scribbled on, inevitably followed. But since Penn Square had negotiated some \$2 billion in loans for other banks throughout the country, its collapse was merely the opening act in banking's rolling thunder review. Within months, Seafirst of Seattle had tottered into the arms of Bank of America, while Chase Manhattan was forced to write off more than \$100 million in bad loans. The biggest of all was Continental Illinois of Chicago, which had managed to lose \$600 million investing through Penn Square and at least \$400 million through other misadventures. In May 1984, Continental, the nation's seventh-largest bank, was saved from utter ruin only by the massive intervention of the Federal Reserve.

#### Movie business.

Steven Bach's *Final Cut* is a similar tale of gullibility—his own. He was the head of East Coast and European production for United Artists, the film studio founded in 1919 by Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks and Charlie Chaplin,

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 4-10, 1985 19 right-wing that only Hollywood could be impressed. And Hollywood was, awarding it five Oscars, including best director and best movie. Bach was swept off his feet. He had found *The Deer Hunter* to be "beautiful and terrible...hallucinatory and fascinating...virtuoso stuff," and felt as if Michaelangelo had just shown up at his front door asking to paint his ceiling. No favor was too great, no price too high for His Eminence. Ultimately, the price Bach paid was his career and his company.

Of course, Bach was not solely at fault. So many epics were coming in over budget in the late '70s—*Apocalypse Now*, *Reds*, *1941*, *The Blues Brothers*, etc.—that cost overruns came to be expected. They were a sign of genius. Inflation, moreover, was raging in the film business, so budgets were more guess work than ever. What was a poor studio executive to do? Put his foot down, say no to any more cost overruns and risk losing a Great Artist to another studio? Bach didn't have the sense to know when to cut and run. "Heaven-gate," as Cimino's epic eventually came to be known, was permitted to proceed on its elephantine way.

Cimino squandered millions on elaborate sets, vast battle scenes, authentic period locomotives and, most of all, endless retakes. His style was that of the obsessive perfectionist, shooting and reshooting every frame, sometimes 50 times over, until he got it right. The joke in Hollywood was that Cimino was searching for a horse for Kris Kristofferson, his leading man, and had interviewed 200 candidates.

In the first six days of shooting, he fell five days behind schedule. For a prologue set at Harvard he insisted on traveling to Oxford, England, in search of hyper-authenticity. The cost, originally projected at \$10 million, eventually ballooned to \$44 million.

All this effort and expense might have been justified (but not the abuse of the hundreds of extras that was one of the more disgusting features of his set) had Cimino come up with something worthwhile. Instead, he came up with a mess. His obsession with detail had backfired. The film, all four hours of it, was beautiful to look at in places, but incoherent in terms of narrative or character. The audience emerged from the premier dazed with disbelief and stupefied with boredom, and few bothered to show up for the party at the Four Seasons afterward.

The critics had a field day, competing with one another to come up with grander and grander terms of abuse. *Heaven's Gate* may not have been the worst film ever made, but in terms of sheer pretentiousness and incompetence, it was without equal.

Bach was finished in the business, and so was United Artists, sold a few months later to MGM. Cimino went on to make, with Dino di Laurentiis, the just-released *Year of the Dragon*. Not surprisingly, the critics have roundly assailed it for its stridency, racism, brutality and misogyny.

As for the economic system that set up *Heaven's Gate* and bred Okiesmo in the first place, it lurches ever forward in search of fresh disasters.

Daniel Lazare writes frequently on economic issues from New York for *In These Times*.



Very interesting. Send more people through it.

—Maine Sen. George Mitchell

By Lucy Lippard

AT THE ENTRANCE WE ARE fingerprinted on an "Official Secret Ballot." General E. Simo" is the sole candidate, running in four slots—the Ultra Conservative Party, the Right Wing Party, the Conservative Party and the Conservative Christian Party. Well identified, we proceed into the tent marked House of Horrors—part of the Art Circus at the annual Maine Festival in Brunswick, Maine.

Inside the House of Horrors, strobes illuminate a pile of dummy corpses while Reagan plays on TV with his version of events in Central America, contradicted by some facts. In the next room, an interrogation chair; the seated viewer is bombarded with taped questions: "Do you eat beans with your rice? Do you eat rice with your beans? Are you subversive? Do you like chocolate? Do you belong to a union?"

Next we step through a curtain into a dark room: a doormat suddenly activates a brilliant light in our face and a tape of gunfire as we're confronted by a dummy firing squad a few feet away. Having survived that, we come out of the dark into the "day" of the last room, where a rather squalid American family (of dummies) relaxes in front of the tube, stuffing themselves with the American dream and junk food as daytime TV simpers and sells some more. Life goes on as death goes on.

"It shows what we do while others are being killed." "Totally disgusting and political." "Statement too real, especially the last scene." "It brings back to mind what's on the other side of the 'good life'." "Kill 'em all. Let God sort it out." These are some of the comments left by visitors on a big pad of paper, as they exited in shock from the House of Horrors.

Organized by artist Natasha Mayers and playwright Art Mayers, from Whitefield, Maine, this *Real House of Horrors* was the first and only "political" event allowed at the Maine Festival—a colorful, elegant fair held yearly on the campus of Bowdoin College and advertised as "an affair with the arts." When I asked the press rep at the gate for directions to the House of Horrors, she said, "I'm afraid it's kind of disappointing. It's very *political*." A Central American activist told me she'd heard it was "bad art and bad politics." But the public's comments suggest otherwise.

"This is what art's really about—or at least a certain kind of art that is very necessary. Thank you." "I guess that the relationship between art and politics is irrelevant when the political reality is as you display it. The ending scenario is the art." "One step further and it would have been too political. Good!" "Why waste time and energy on such negative shit?" "I have to feel grateful that some people care enough to spend time (effort) to try and reach people. Thanks for the love." And, inevitably, "Interesting, but is it art?"

Activist art is not taught in schools. It has developed in fits and starts over the last two decades, its legacy from the '30s and '40s having been buried somewhere outside the art-history book covers. In a culture that considers



ART

## The real Ronnie Horror Show comes to the fair

art totally separate from life and considers the lives of "others" totally separate from "ours," it has been hit by taboos from all sides. In an art world where everything from masturbation to plagiarism has been welcomed into the museums, Central America is still beyond the pale.

Every activist artist I work with would give her/his eye teeth for a non-art audience of thousands, not to mention such a rare and wonderful harvest of honest re-

**Artists whose work is candidly political spark controversy during an unprecedented showing at Maine festival.**

sponse as the Mayers received. We are always concerned to reach broad audiences, but political naivete, taboos, censorship and lack of contact with or understanding of a generalized "people" often limit our effectiveness. In the last six years, however, there has grown up across the U.S. an increasingly progressive and aesthetically sophisticated network of artists who are sharing the lessons they've learned in the field and are communicating more forcefully with people who ordinarily feel alienated from art.

Who were *these* particular people? A representative American cross-section. Brunswick is a college town, shopping center for a large number of small communities on and off the nearby coast, and home of a Naval Air Base. Eight miles away, 24-hour picket lines have closed the Bath Iron Works, the area's major employer (and major defense contractor), on strike since July 2. The mid-coast CASA (Central America Solidarity Association) has been leafletting the strikers about Central America, successfully making some crucial connections. At a CASA meeting I attended, a striker's wife shared her experience with letters to the editors of local newspapers: "Too controversial" is the response both

to strikers and to the bombings in El Salvador.

Of course, the House of Horrors also inspired some horrified responses from the other side: "Inappropriate in this setting—you will frighten the kids without educating them." "The story is pretty bad. I mean I'm 10 and hearing about rape makes me feel bad." "Not something I wished to share with my family on an outing. Poor Taste!" (Countered by "Something my parents should see," and "Last visit on our way out. Glad we caught it. Provides a good balance to the rest.") The clearest evidence of generational standoff was the mother who wrote, "It doesn't belong in a family fair, but it does make you think," after which her pre-teenager wrote, "Teaches us kids war is horrible."

Natasha Mayers is the Maine contact for the national network of Artists Call Against U.S. Intervention in Central America, and participated in the first working artists' brigade to Nicaragua in 1984. Opposed to a "straight art-in-the-service-of-the-cause," last winter she had a brightly decorative show of semi-abstract paintings titled "U.S. vs. Nicaragua." Her experience in Nicaragua (as she wrote on her return in the *Maine Central America Paper*), taught her "the value of a public

art that is idea-oriented." However, she remains convinced that "propaganda and art are separate."

Mayers ambivalence is common in the left cultural movement. But there is a growing rejection of the old dichotomy between art and politics, as political organizations and solidarity groups begin to understand how culture works, and cultural people show increasing willingness to work within what often seems like a philistine pragmatism. (A list of ways to protest the Salvadoran bombings published in the New England Central America Network (NECAN) *Notice* focuses on cultural action, and CISPES is increasingly imaginative in this area.)

### The medium and the message.

It is difficult to gauge the degree of information, politics and visual literacy of an unknown audience (difficult enough dealing with one's own community). Artists trying to integrate the supposedly incompatible are constantly aware that decisions made in the studio don't always hold up in the streets, that the form can't overwhelm the message and the message can't overwhelm the form. Good art leaves room for interpretation and good activism makes people think. Good art activism does both—though, as a recent flyer from the L.A. Women's Building warns, "Information is not Consciousness."

For those already well informed about the real terror inflicted by the armies of El Salvador and Guatemala, and by the *contras* in Nicaragua, the House of Horrors's tumbled piles of dummies might seem pallid, although the dramatic use of light and sound brought them "to life." But the public's comments make it clear that this was not a converted audience. If, for a few, the installation didn't reach Chainsaw Massacre standards ("Not bloody enough," "Not much horror"), others were seriously disturbed by the imagery: "Horrible. Ruined my day." "A certain modicum of tact would have been of benefit." "Had to turn off my pacemaker."

For the most part, the responses were positive, offering some hope to Central American activists about the level of caring in this country, and some encouragement to artists who need to know they are communicating their beliefs: "Upsetting, stirring, a reminder. Not sure I wanted that today. No break?" "Put it in a trailer. Take it on a tour of the shopping malls of USA!" "Every fair across this great land of ours should have this house of horrors." "I'm really glad to see some reality (harsh, but undeniable) at this festival." "An interior space that I never dared to imagine. Thanks but no thanks. Thank you." "Let me go home and put my blinders back on." "I think scare tactics are the only thing left to us."

When the Artemisia Gallery's recent "Critical Messages" show of women's public media pieces was censored by the Chicago Transit Authority (see page 12), a recurring rationalization was that the artists' images were "controversial" or "vulgar." Coming out of the House of Horrors in Brunswick, an American public replied that it was able to think for itself.

Lucy Lippard, whose most recent book is *Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change* (Dutton), writes on art and politics monthly for *In These Times*.



By Pat Aufderheide

ONCE UPON A TIME, THE National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) gave money to people who wanted to rediscover and tell the history of "invisible" Americans—women, working people, blacks and other ethnic groups. People who told those stories in mass media—video, film, radio—were especially coveted, since the NEH was founded to bring "the humanities" to a broad public.

Then came Reagan, and with him Big Bill Bennett. Bennett could see politics lurking behind these historical recovery efforts, and he suspected they were diluting the scholarly quality of the humanities. He didn't even look at films like *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter* or *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez*, made with NEH help, and he didn't have to. He knew where his priorities were: over there, on the five-foot-shelf full of some people's classics. He never managed to do away with media projects before moving on to the Education department, but he did dampen enthusiasm.

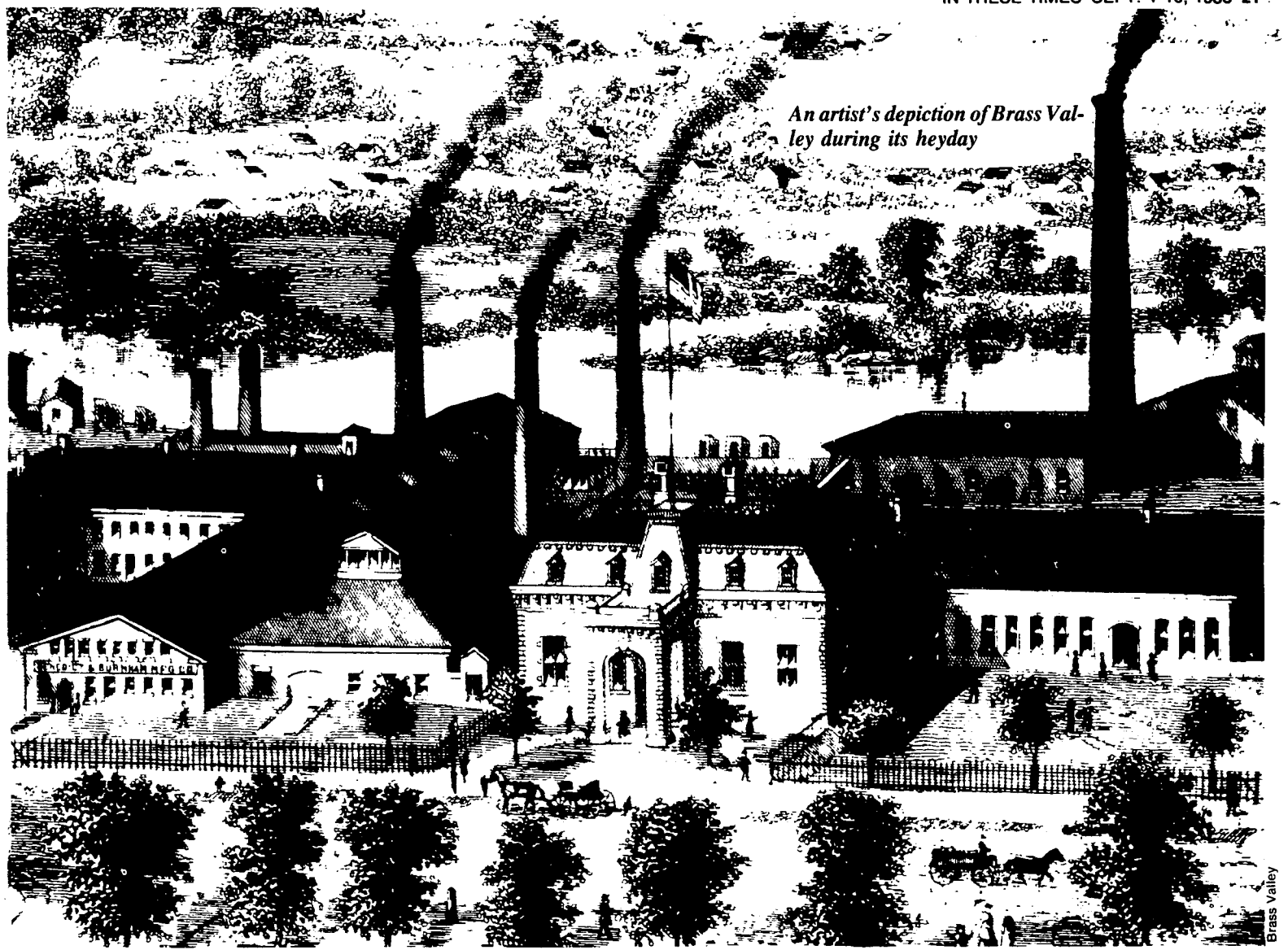
Some of the grants the NEH gave out before Bennett's time financed work that is now finished. Two recent examples—both of a kind to curdle a conservative's blood—show that Bennett was right to worry that reframing history from a non-elite perspective, especially in a popular medium, is a political act. They also challenge Bennett's assumption that there is such a thing as value-free history, and scholarly quality without social context.

The American Working Class History Project and the Brassworkers History Project are both efforts of '60s-era social historians to get their perspectives beyond the walls of the academy.

The American Working Class History Project began with an NEH grant to the late Herb Gutman to hold labor history seminars for labor leaders. These seminars were later expanded to community colleges and other educational centers. The information was far from neutral in its impact. "Once I became aware of that historical perspective," wrote one labor organizer, "I could better understand current attitudes, and I could help to foster within the workers themselves a respect for their own history."

The NEH approved; soon Gutman was in charge of a five-year, \$1 million NEH grant to provide working-class perspectives on American history. With an additional \$400,000 of Ford Foundation money the project has become a multi-media effort to transform the educational agenda, both in and out of school. The Project plans a two-volume history of the American working class, a dozen slide/film strips and a series of half-hour documentary films.

The Project uses popular media of today and exploits the pop media of yesterday, for a reason. As project director Steve Brier, himself a filmmaker, acknowledges, popular media have shaped images of our own past and, inevitably, our own future as well. The two-volume history book is abundantly illustrated with photographs, illustrations, cartoons and original documents, showing not only what happened but how it was perceived. Slide/film strips do not merely retell history, but are based on the storytel-



An artist's depiction of Brass Valley during its heyday

## SCHOLARSHIP

# Seeking history beyond the walls of the academy

ling mode of the time. In the slide/film strip "The Irish in New York," for instance, grotesque caricatures in period cartoons tell the story of prejudice against new immigrant groups as graphically as any narrative.

The Project's most recent work,

*The project, funded by the pre-Bennett NEH, uses a multi-media approach in uncovering the past.*

a film called *1877*, takes this technique further, and also breaks ground for animators in all kinds of films. James Earl Jones narrates the all too little known story of the nationwide railway strike of 1877, and the narration mixes fascinating detail and violence-filled drama with information describing the political and economic context of post-Civil War America. But what makes the film most striking is the animation based on lithography of the time. Animators skillfully drew characters out of old lithographs, playing on cartoons and stereotypes; the film's

exemplary fictional characters are portrayed in period graphics. It's an ingenious and low-budget solution to the problem facing researchers of "invisible" history—lack of visual material. And it offers a way both to explain the strikers' perspective and to reveal the stereotypes by which they were presented in the mass media of the time. The film may become a pilot for a TV series on the history of ordinary Americans.

Other slide/filmstrips have followed. There is one, drawn from the research of scholar Alfred Young, about the life of a Boston shoemaker who became a revolutionary in colonial times. And the Project is finishing a slide show called "The Big H." The "H" in question is "history," and it is a "history mystery" that makes the case for working-people's perspectives with New Wave cartooning and images stolen from film noir.

### Out of the Rustbowl.

The Brassworkers History Project began when three Connecticut labor historians decided to rediscover the life story of the Naugatuck Valley, once the site of booming brass mills and now a part of the Rustbowl. An NEH grant triggered grants from others, including a labor union and many individuals. Launched as a community-wide attempt to reclaim bits and pieces of family and ethnic history, it ended up as a book (Temple University Press) and an 80-minute film, both de-

scribing the region's history from a workers' perspective and both called *Brass Valley*.

With cool grace, the video balances talking-head interviews, family photos and corporate historical documents to recount the rise and fall of both the brass industry and the organized labor movement around it. The film is unobtrusively sophisticated in its portrayal of union decline; it is accurate without being antagonistic. And it demonstrates in every scene the involvement of the community whose history is told. The story of, as the narrator puts it, "how this industry shaped people's lives and how they, in turn, tried to shape their own lives" is sometimes painful, usually interesting and never nostalgia-ridden.

Now the Project is planning a study guide for the video, as well as a booklet encouraging people to repeat the experiment in their own communities. The booklet is called "History from Below: How to Uncover and Tell the Story of Your Community, Workplace or Union."

The NEH didn't make these projects happen, or even bankroll them. But its initial grants made others possible, and encouraged an experiment matching the highest traditional standards of scholarship with popular media. The approach these projects take to historical inquiry does far more than add new "facts" and restore balance. As Herb Gutman said, "Knowing more about these subjects makes us think differently about the broad historical processes shaping the development of this nation and its peoples."

The days of such grants may seem long ago and far away, but many NEH staffers today are proud of its legacy, and don't intend to let go of options for the future. They may be more important, in the long run, than any new appointees to this administration's NEH.

For further information contact AWCHP, Grad Center, City University of New York, 33 W. 42nd St., New York, NY 10036; for Brass Valley film, contact Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, #802, New York, NY 10019.

## FILMCLIPS

**Small Happiness.** Has the Chinese revolution benefitted women? That's the question many American leftists ask, but there's no easy yes or no answer. This hour-long documentary asks a different question: what are the cultural and structural limits on women's equality in China? It's a far more interesting one, and the film's elegance and human warmth make the complex answers fascinating. The birth of a girl in China is still a "small happiness," compared with the joy at the birth of a son. China is still a nation of families, and while women physically reproduce them, it is men who carry the family's name and property into the next generation. A widow who remarries may have to leave her children behind, even though she may take personal property with her. Directors Carma Hinton and Richard Gordon explore the tension that this enduring inequality brings into a revolutionary

period when women have gained unprecedented personal freedom and economic options. Hinton, daughter of William Hinton (*Fanshen*), was raised in China. The confidence she wins from interview subjects in a small village is manifest as older women describe boundfoot brutalities of old, and when young women describe attempts to assert themselves in the workplace (waging a wildcat strike in one factory), and to make new families within traditional expectations for women. This is one of a projected trilogy on daily life in China, a timely and solid contribution to our understanding of Chinese culture, at a moment when it is poised on the edge of another historical shift.

For more information contact the Long Bow Group, 4205 Spruce St., Philadelphia, PA 19104, (215) 386-9382.

—Pat Aufderheide



# Salvador

Continued from page 17

In spite of strong CRS regional opposition to accepting AID money, CRS Deputy Regional Director George Ann Potter has not discounted continued dialogue with AID. AID funds \$330 million a year to the Salvadoran government for a food program that the government administers and that is accused of corruption. The other major Salvadoran refugees assistance agency is run by the Catholic archdiocese. The director of all Catholic refu-

gee camps in El Salvador is Father Octavio Cruz. In 1983 AID was so anxious for the San Salvador diocese to accept money for the hundreds of thousands of dislocated that it was ready "to hand Cruz the bills in a brown paper bag," according to one source who spoke to a *National Catholic Reporter* writer.

In objecting to AID help the diocese based its refusal on the pleas of Archbishop Oscar Romero to Jimmy Carter that the U.S. not send military or economic aid or apply diplomatic pressure on El Salvador. Quoted in the *National Catholic Reporter*, Father Cruz said, U.S. government humanitarian aid "comes within a counterinsurgency package."

Some humanitarian or health care workers who continue to work in church refugee camps have been killed because they work with refugees considered "subversives." Salvadoran Brenda Sanchez-Galan was a doctor's assistant in a Lutheran refugee camp who fled the country with Mauricio Valle, an ambulance driver for a church camp, when their lives were threatened. Brenda's co-worker, a pregnant woman, was found macheted, the fetus torn from her womb. Afraid she was next, Brenda and Mauricio left El Salvador through the Sanctuary Movement's underground railroad, but were the first refugees arrested in February 1984 along with sanctuary worker Stacey Merkt as

they attempted to avoid an INS checkpoint at the Rio Grande Valley.

One of the North American Lutheran refugee assistance directors who testified at Brenda and Mauricio's trial, explaining the dangers faced by refugee assistance workers in Salvadoran church camps was Dan Long. Long claims that the exodus of more than a million refugees indicates that the Salvadoran military's depopulation program has been a success.

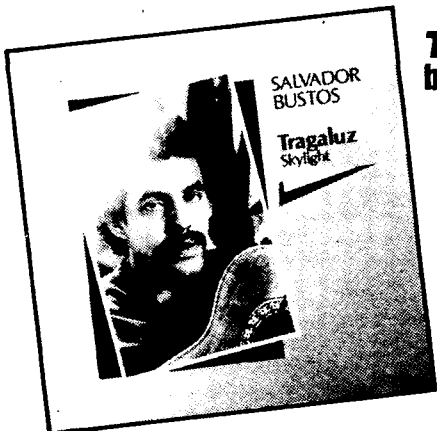
"It has helped the economic condition of the country by eliminating hundreds of workers who would be unemployed in El Salvador and created the second largest source of U.S. capital for the Salvadoran Economy," he says. "It is clear that if the

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Americana Congress Hotel, 520 S. Michigan, Chicago, IL. For more information write: PHRC Conference, 220 S. State St. #1308, Chicago IL 60604, or call 312-987-1830



500,000 Salvadorans who currently reside in the U.S. would not have left El Salvador, the political and military opposition within El Salvador would be significantly larger, the number of unemployed and the amount of U.S. capital in El Salvador (something absolutely necessary to maintain the war effort without affecting the rich to any significant degree) would be significantly lower."

Linking depopulation to U.S. foreign policy, Long believes the U.S. "does not mind Salvadorans being here...if they were not here they would be a positive counter agent to current U.S. policy in El Salvador." What the State Department does not accept are refugees in public sanctuary because their witness belies U.S. policy. Long notes that "not one North American Christian merely involved in offering services to refugees has been prosecuted, only those with connection to Sanctuary."

**Renny Golden and Michael McConnell's book, *Sanctuary and the New Underground Railroad*, will be published by Orbis Books this fall.**

# China

Continued from page 24 pitched.

CCTV officials have forbidden the airing of alcohol ads, leaving other content decisions to Yue-Sai Kan, who has stringent views on the matter, principally because "I understand the Chinese and am sensitive to them. I'm unlikely to produce shows that are censorable." Besides, outlines of the

show's programs will be submitted to CCTV. Violence and sexual content are no-nos. No tight-jeaned rumps, no seductive innuendos—"Calvin Klein is out." This will be hair-shirted, ruddy-cheeked advertising, a challenge to Madison Avenue, whose strategists will almost certainly try to figure out how to subliminally insert the snake of sex into this particular garden.

## Global families.

Two advertisers have already signed up—General Foods and Proctor & Gamble. Kodak, IBM, Coca-Cola (with three plants there already) are almost sure to follow. A spokesperson for General Foods expects its advertising to capture 10 percent of *One World's* audience (about 75 million households of four persons each), or 30 million, describing the non-audience (700 million) as "still not viable" as consumers.

If the commercial for P&G can be taken as a guideline, then *One World* commercials will be essentially American ones, except for the faces and the language. P&G's 60-second spot will have a Chinese family newly arrived in the U.S.: in a now-classic scenario, the boy goes out to play baseball and comes back, his clothes all muddled. The mother expresses dismay, in Mandarin, of course; uses Tide and *viola!* the clothes are as good as new. Just as Hollywood films and technique have become part of a worldwide mythological vocabulary, it's a likely bet that so too will Madison Avenue's creations become paradigms for Chinese agencies.

Between 12 million and 16 million TV sets are expected to be sold in China this year. In the first quarter of 1985, four million have already been purchased. All to

be added to the estimated 40 million now being used. As elsewhere in the developing world, more than just the family will be watching the tube: those neighbors and friends without one will be, too, for an average of five to six people per set.

And, unlike the one-dimensional images the Chinese will see, say, of New York, the products will be at hand to be seen, felt and, most importantly, consumed. When a Beijinger guzzles a Coca-Cola, he or she will be slaking a thirst both of the throat and the imagination. Coca-Cola is an icon of modern times, at once manageable and mysterious. It leads to a contemplation of skyscrapers that no longer seem so distant. The array of consumer items will lead to

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 4-10, 1985 23 incalculable changes wrought on a nation of tea-drinkers and gourmets. With coffee and instamatics available, can aspirin, infant formula and American Express be far behind?

The image of one billion people taking snapshots of one another sipping coffee or Coke or washing with Ivory soap may be a vision to corporate managers—and an ideogram to China's leadership representing progress—but it's a nightmare to those who still believe unity and diversity don't have to excuse each other.

**Luis H. Francia is a New York journalist and poet-playwright whose work has appeared, among other places, in the *Village Voice* and *Bridge* magazine.**

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

### SAN FRANCISCO, CA

#### September 12

"Labor in El Salvador"—a meeting with Francisco Acosta, U.S. Representative of the Salvadoran trade union federation FENASTRAS, Thursday, September 12, at 7:30 p.m. at 240 Golden Gate in San Francisco. For information phone CISPES, (415) 861-0425.

### LOS ANGELES, CA

#### September 14

"Los Angeles Celebrates Voices of Resis-

### INDIANA, PA

#### October 23-25

U.S. Working Class History and Contemporary Labor Movement Symposium. Keynoters: Melvin Dubofsky and David Gordon. Speakers include Sean Wilentz, Celia Eckhardt, Leon Fink, Mari Jo Buhle, Philip Nyden, Nelson Lichtenstein, Alice Kessler-Harris, Everett Kasselow, Peter Kelly and Charles Bryan. Contact: Irwin Marcus, History Department, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, PA 15705, (412) 357-2227

## CLASSIFIED

### HELP WANTED

**ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP opportunities!** The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings—\$3. Community Jobs, Box 429, 1520 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

**PROGRAM COORDINATOR:** National coalition of 55 religious, peace, and social action organizations seeks human rights program coordinator to organize and facilitate national grassroots and Capitol Hill strategies on human rights issues with special emphasis on U.S.-Central America policy. Experience in local organizing essential. Congressional work desirable. Send resume, cover letter, and writing sample to: Cynthia Washington, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 612 G Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003. EOE. No phone calls. Deadline 9/27.

IN THESE TIMES is seeking an ASSISTANT PUBLISHER to organize fundraising and promotional activities at the paper. Must have previous fundraising and public relations experience. Ability to write grants and solicit funds from individuals and organizations. Experience with board of directors and volunteers desirable. Salary range \$18,000-22,000. Send resume to: Alfred Dale, ITT, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

**COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS.** Apply for 1986 summer legal interns. Contact NLG Summer Projects, 1205 Smith Tower, Seattle, WA 98104.

**LARGE AFL-CIO union looking for organizers and lead organizers.** Experience necessary. All replies confidential. Send resumes along with salary history to: Organizer Posi-

tions, P.O. Box 27280, Washington, DC 20038-7280.

**DIRECTOR, ESSEX COUNTY** Tenant Resource Center-New Jersey. Organize tenants to strengthen rent control and build tenant organization. Supervise staff of 7. Develop innovative housing programs, work with 50,000-member New Jersey tenants organization. Qualifications: Several years community organizing experience. Experience in directing issue campaigns and staff supervision. Salary \$24,000-27,600. Where: Montclair, NJ, suburb of New York City. Apply to: Essex County Tenant Resource Center, 358 Bloomfield Ave., Montclair, NJ 07042. EOE.

**DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATE—Part-time.** Assist in foundation and direct mail fundraising at a national nonprofit with foreign policy focus. Tremendous opportunity for learning and career growth. Must be well-organized, able to work under pressure, with excellent communication skills. Computer experience and tolerance a plus. Permanent position, with good benefits. Resumes to: NACLA, Search Committee, 151 W. 19th St., New York 10011.

### PUBLICATIONS

**GAY COMMUNITY NEWS**—"The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current, informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

### VOLUNTEERS

**ITT NEEDS VOLUNTEERS** in the Business Dept. Gain political/practical experience in a stimulating environment. Flexible hours available between 9-5, Mon.-Fri. Benefits include staff subscription rates, ping-pong. Call Kathleen at (312) 472-5700.

**VOLUNTEER NEEDED** for In These Times advertising campaign. Must be detail minded, responsible—and wanna work (10 hours and up to 25 hours) each week. Assist in production of 1985 anniversary issue; lots of follow-up with advertisers and

supporters. Possibly work into a paid position. Interested? Contact advertising department, ITT, (312) 472-5700.

### WORKSHOPS/VACATIONS

**BERKSHIRE FORUM:** Weekend Vacation workshops, run through Dec. 1. Provocative speakers, good companions, lovely mountain scenery, excellent meals, comfortable accommodations. Write or call: Berkshire Forum, Box 124, Stephentown, NY 12168, (518) 733-5497.

### BOOKS

**FREE SEARCH SERVICE!** Montara Mountain Books, Box 553 W, El Granada, CA 94018.

**FOR SALE—MARXIST LIBRARY.** SASE for list. Stephens, 2310 Valley St., Berkeley, CA 94702.

### PERSONALS

**MEET OTHER LEFT SINGLES** through Concerned Singles Newsletter. All areas. Free sample. P.O. Box 7737-T, Berkeley, CA 94707.

### ATTENTION

**MOVING?** Let *In These Times* be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: *In These Times*, Circulation Dept., 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

### HOMES

**GOVERNMENT HOMES** from \$1. (U Repair). Also delinquent tax property. Call 1-805-687-6000 Ext. GH-2440 for information.

### TRAVEL

**ATTEND U.S.-NICARAGUA Health Colloquium**, in Managua, Nov. 8-16. Unique opportunity for personal and technical exchange with Nicaraguan health workers. All types of health workers needed for teaching, fact-finding, tours. For info., contact Colloquium, Committee for Health Rights in Central America, 513 Valencia, #6, S.F., CA 94110. (415) 431-7760.



### UNI-T-SHIRT

Express your dedication to creating a world free of nuclear insanity. It's up to us! Blue lettering around red & blue design. "Disarmament now" and Russian "Razoroozhjēniye tepeer" silkscreened on white 100% cotton. Available in s, m, l, xl. Send \$7.95 payable to:

**Unity Shirts, c/o Disarmament, PO Box 737, Amherst, MA 01004**

### STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

**4 hours of classes daily. Meetings with political leaders. Family living and community work. Apply now for August, September and October sessions. Call (212) 777-1197 or write to Casa Nicaraguense de Español, 70 Greenwich Ave., Rm. 559, New York, NY 10011**

**This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.**

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-781-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

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and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week (72% made a mail order purchase last year). ITT classics deliver a big response for a little cost.

<b>Word Rates:</b>	<b>Display Inch Rates:</b>
80¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues	\$22 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
70¢ per word / 3-5 issues	\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues
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60¢ per word / 10-19 issues	\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues
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Enclosed is my check for \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \$\_\_\_\_\_ week(s). Please indicate desired heading.

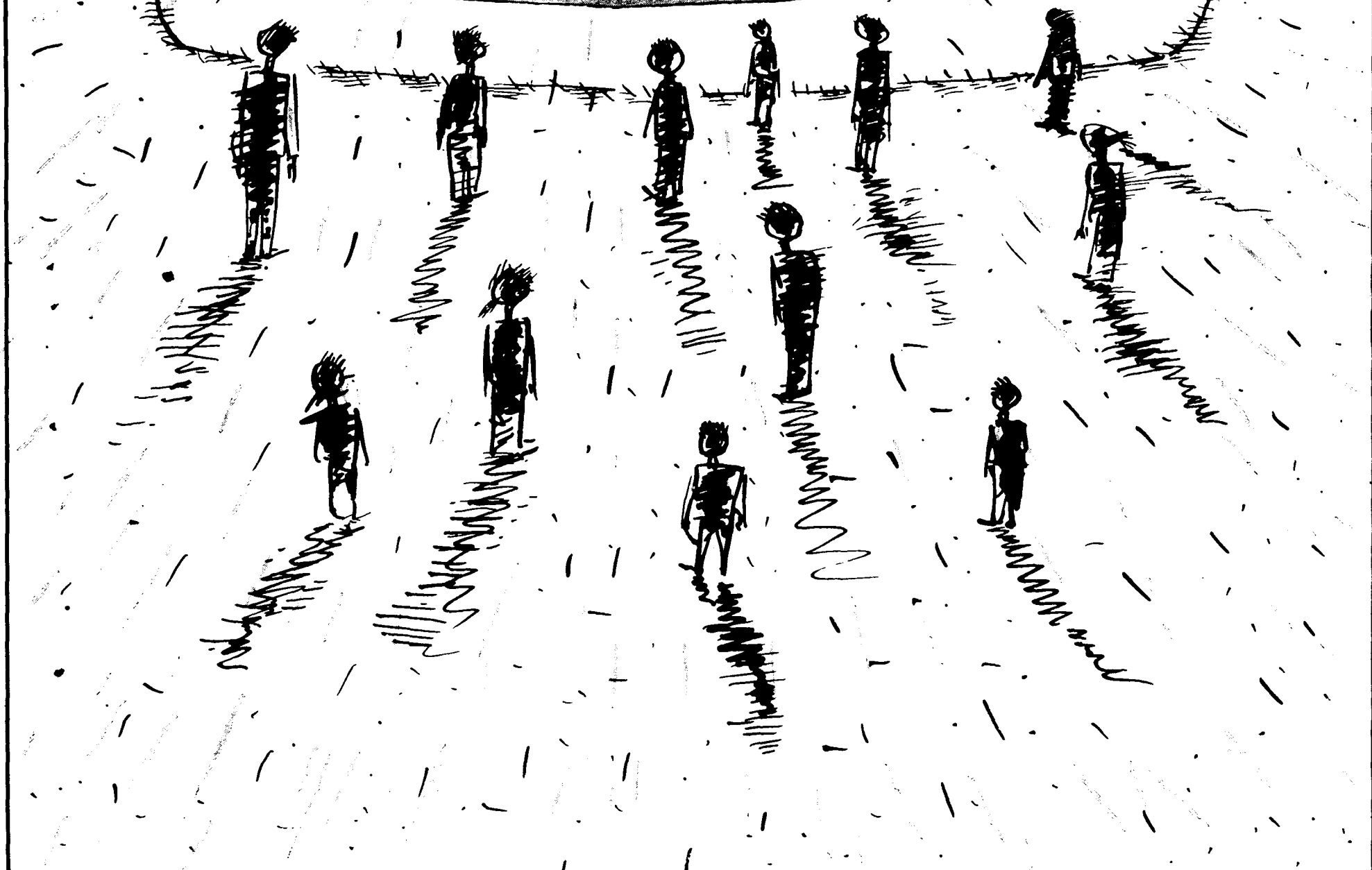
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**IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657**



# THIS REVOLUTION WILL be TELEVISED



By Luis H. Francia

**A**LMOST A DECADE AFTER THE fall of the Gang of Four, China is undergoing another Cultural Revolution, in exactly the direction the previous one convulsively strode away from: a resurgence of bourgeois materialism and a toning down of revolutionary asceticism. Today, for instance, the motto among the workers in the Special Economic Zones of southern China is "Work your butt off in the office; make enough merry in the streets." And a group of farmers from Shandong Province recently wrote a letter to the *China Youth Daily* urging urban dance teachers to go to the countryside to teach modern dance and thus "liberate [the farmers] from their feudalistic thoughts."

Under Deng Xiaoping's pragmatic leadership, the Chinese have undertaken a concerted drive not only to achieve the Four

Modernizations but also to radically change the lifestyle of the masses in ways that usually equate "modern" with "Western." Indeed, Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Secretary General Hu Yaobang has said that "Reform often begins with lifestyle," urging his compatriots, for instance, to eat Chinese food "the Western way," deeming the traditional buffet method as unhygienic. And *xizhuang*, or the Western-style suit, has become the preferred mode of dress among party functionaries, relegating the Mao suit—and all it stands for—to mothball status. (Subsidies are even being handed out in urban factories to those workers who buy European-style suits and dresses.) The push for a new, liberalized lifestyle has in effect taken on the aspects of a *yundong*, or political campaign.

Going hand in hand with this has been the encouragement of small-scale capitalism, particularly among farmers now allowed to sell a percentage of their produce for profit. Consumerism and disposable in-

come have also been on the upsurge. Refrigerators, washing machines, radios and TV sets—common enough in the West—have been selling, though modestly, still on a scale unprecedented in China's modern times.

## Consumer ads and lifestyle programs come to Chinese television.

Television is being used to accelerate the pace. This fall 300 million urban Chinese (roughly the entire populations of the U.S. and Canada and bigger than the combined audiences of NBC, ABC and CBS) will be tuning in to their only network, Chinese Central Television (CCTV), to view the half-hour, magazine-formatted *One World*,

the first original weekly series produced in the West specifically for China. An amalgam of culture, politics, business and lifestyles, *One World* will be produced, hosted and narrated in Mandarin by Yue-Sai Kan, a Manhattan-based TV journalist. Since 1981, Kan, a Chinese emigré by way of Hong Kong, has had her own Manhattan-based cable show, *Looking East*, a tame but informative half-hour weekly program introducing Asian mores to Americans, and obviously a prototype for *One World*. With the leadership of one-fourth of humanity determined to look West, the program, according to Yue-Sai, "comes at exactly the right time and I am exactly the right person."

Her audience of 300 million is guaranteed, truly the stuff of a TV producer's wildest dreams. While *One World* will be a window looking West, it will also have three minutes of commercials, offering a window through which things can be

*Continued on page 23*